With This Issue

a SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT on the 90TH ANNIVERSARY FORUM ON ATOMS FOR PEACE

THE Nation

July 9, 1955

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Geneva and The Ike We Like

JUL 9 1955

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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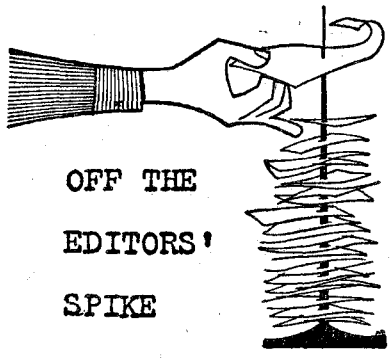

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

A NUMBER of touching or amusing items landed on the editor's desk in the course of *The Nation's* ninetieth birthday celebration, whose grand finale is reported in a supplement to this issue. One that loosed a flood of nostalgic recollections was a postcard from Paris which read: "Very best congratulations and thanks for all your grand work for PEACE from an old friend, Muriel MacSweeney (Mrs. Terence MacSweeney), New York, 1920-21." To *Nation* veterans the greeting recalled a romantic episode in one of the paper's most militant and successful campaigns.

The best way to tell the story is to lift a bit from Oswald Garrison Villard's autobiography, "Fighting Years." In 1920 *The Nation* set up a commission to investigate and report to the world on "the bloody rule of the Black and Tans"—the British military forces in Ireland. Said Mr. Villard:

> We were able to start the commission off in a most dramatic way by bringing to the United States the sister and widow of Terence MacSweeney, the young Lord Mayor of Cork, who had starved himself to death in a hunger strike in prison as a protest against the British misrule. With marvelous fortitude, superhuman endurance, he lived an incredible seventy-four days, suffering tortures beyond purgatory, giving his life for his country as nobly as any soldier who ever wore His Majesty's uniform. . . . Muriel MacSweeney, the Lord Mayor's widow, turned out to be the ideal person for the role she was called upon to play. No one could have been more charming or more tactful or quicker to understand the situation. Young, slim, pretty, with lovely gray eyes, dressed in deep mourning, she was greeted at the steamer by a committee representing The Nation and the commission and escorted by a procession of 10,000 people to the St. Regis Hotel. The police could hardly control the enthusiastic crowds at the pier. Wherever she went she was recognized and followed. When she tried to make purchases in the stores she was all but crushed by the shop-girls and shoppers. . . .

The picture of her in Mr. Villard's book shows her just as pretty as he says she was. And now, thirty-five years later, comes a greeting from that same Muriel MacSweeney to remind us of old battles—fought and sometimes won.

ANOTHER NOTE, this from a subscriber registering a change of address, carried an echo from a time still more remote. After disposing of her business, our correspondent added a P. S.: "During my first visit to Florence I stayed in a pension conducted by the sister of Mr. Godkin, the first Editor of *The Nation*. She was a fine old brilliant Irish lady." A brief item, and one that makes us wish we knew more.

BY SHEER ACCIDENT some letters that might have come straight out of *The Nation's* files—if our files went back that far—were discovered stored away among the effects of a Philadelphia gentleman who recently died. The relative who unearthed them and sent them to the present editor had no idea how they had found their way to a Philadelphia attic store room. They were written between the years 1870 and 1875, most of them to Wendell Phillips Garrison, a few to Mr. Godkin. What fascinated us, in addition to the ornate Victorian letterheads and the fine Victorian penmanship (only one or two were typewritten), was the proof they provided that time does not alter the nature of correspondents—or, apparently, of editors. A few fragments will illustrate:

> June 4, 1875
> The Editor of The Nation
> Dear Sir: If not asking too much I should feel greatly obliged if you would insert the inclosed in the next number of your paper. Such statements as were made by your correspondent on page 375 of the current number are calculated to do mischief, and are utterly unreliable. . . .

> New York, 187—
> Dear Sir: Mr. Nate Morgan presents his compliments to the editor of The Nation and begs to thank him for a very just criticism on his cartoons made during the late political campaign, but at the same time he cannot help expressing his surprise that the editor of The Nation should be one of the last men in the U. S. of America to discover that he (Mr. Nate Morgan) was working in favor of the election of Grant. . . .

> Salem, Massachusetts
> January 10, 1873
> My dear Sir: I return proof received this noon with congratulations on your having so good a printer. I have only caught him in four or five places. I see you had to cut down my copy considerably. You should have given me a limit. . . .

> London, January 23, 1875
> To the Editor of The Nation:
> In your necrology for the year 1874 you give the name of our late Minister in Bolivia as Gen'l John T. "Cuxton," whereas it should be Gen'l John T. Croxton. As this gentleman was a true patriot, a good citizen, an accomplished scholar, and a most gallant soldier whose merits were only surpassed by his modesty, I venture to call your attention to the curious manner in which you have misprinted his name.

> (No date)
> Dear Godkin: I inclose a puff of the "Warren Cooker." It is a blessing to housekeepers and ought to be known. My Sunday dinner of roast goose and apple dumpling was so perfectly cooked yesterday that I could not forbear writing a good word for the benefit of all concerned.

> New Haven, 23 Nov. 1872
> Dear Sir: Inclosed please find my remarks upon Mr. Tuckerman's book. . . . I hope the proofreader will be careful of the corrections in spelling and I will ask him to give a small m to metopes and metropes and a small k to kleft and klepht on p. 4.

An interesting fact about these letters is that they antedate every letter which appeared in the volume "Letters and Memorials of Wendell Phillips Garrison," published in 1908, the year following his death. It makes us wonder how many more—and more important—records of the early days of *The Nation* lie buried in unknown attics.

OUR last item, a small one dated no longer ago than June 19, 1955, gave us pause. It appears under the heading "Today's Events" in the Waldorf-Astoria *Daily Bulletin* and reads simply: "The Notion Associates . . . Dinner, Grand Ballroom, 6 p. m."

FREDA KIRCHWEY

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1955
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

From Guildhall to Geneva

IN THE wake of the United Nations commemorative sessions the refound "spirit of San Francisco" has given fresh impetus to popular hopes and aspirations for the success of the coming Big Four conference in Geneva. Prior to the San Francisco meeting Administration spokesmen had looked, acted, and spoken as though the crime of the year were to raise the slightest favorable expectation in relation to Geneva. But since San Francisco and the significant rejection by the Senate of Senator McCarthy's proposal to scuttle the Geneva conference, the commentators have been deluging the President with unsolicited advice as to the attitudes he should or should not adopt when he sets off to meet the other three "at the summit."

Since nearly every organ of opinion has been heard, the feeling prevailed around *The Nation* office that we too might tender some unsolicited advice. No conference of the post-war period is of greater moment, we suspect, than the one that will take place in Geneva. The time for negotiation has clearly arrived; on this there is nearly universal agreement. Not even Senator Knowland rejects this assumption. Never during the post-war period have general conditions been more favorable for the success of a conference at the summit. Some of the power vacuums have been filled; stalemates have been ended in situations that at earlier conferences could not be resolved; the right wing of the Republican Party has been brought to heel and significant changes have taken place in the relationships and attitudes of the principal governments.

WHAT is important is not so much that the Geneva conference should succeed as that it should not be permitted to fail; that it should lead, logically and naturally, to a series of conferences and negotiations which will produce agreements across which, as bridges, the peoples of the world can escape from the narrow islands of fear to broad plains of understanding and accommodation.

The attitude of President Eisenhower is likely to be one of the key factors which will determine what happens at Geneva. So it is to the President, not to Mr. Dulles, that we address ourselves. Low's delightful cartoon of Mr. Dulles's trainers urging him to show more "flexibility" as he steps on the tennis court to meet Mr. Molotov accurately reflects the general feeling that the American Secretary of State is determined to be unyielding despite a marked relaxation in the domestic political temper. For our part we would feel more confident of the outcome if Senator George, not Mr. Dulles, were to be the principal American negotiator.

But we do have confidence in the President's will to peace. We did not support the President in 1952; we are not likely to support him in 1956; and we have been consistently critical of his domestic program and, on many counts, of his Administration's handling of foreign affairs. But on one point we are grateful to the President, namely, for his timely personal interventions in behalf of peace and for the general moderation which he has shown in every crisis of sufficient gravity to come to his direct attention. Although the full records are not available, it seems clear that it was the President's intervention which prevented an "air strike" by American carrier-based planes during the siege of Dien Bien Phu. It was at the President's personal direction that American carriers were ordered to withdraw from positions dangerously close to the China coast during last summer's flare-up, when a British passenger plane was shot down and American planes in turn shot down two Chinese MIGs. It was the President, again, who from his Denver summer headquarters, decided against more active intervention last September when the Formosa crisis began to acquire a new and critical urgency; and, more recently, in the excitement over Quemoy and Matsu, it was the President who within nine days brought about a change of mood in Washington properly described by the B.B.C. correspondent as one of the most remarkable of its kind in the turbulent post-war period.

On April 17 it looked as though active intervention in Formosa was very near; nine days later the President was calmly chatting with reporters about a "sixth sense" which told him that there would be no war and expressing confidence that his old war companion, Marshal Zhukov, was devoted to good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Doubtless pressure of American public opinion had a great deal to do with this change of mood; but as consistent political critics of the President we must say that his conciliatory attitude—note an exception for the unfortunate statements which preceded the Joint Resolution on Formosa—was an important factor.

We have confidence, therefore, on the basis of his past performance, that the President will carry to Geneva the general attitudes and outlook necessary to insure the success of the conference.

But there are other reasons for our belief in the President's will to peace. If there is one element that

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stands out impressively in Bela Kornitzer's drab-dull account of the Brothers Eisenhower ("The Great American Heritage"), it is the importance of the River Brethren tradition in the Eisenhower family. This religious tradition was without doubt the most powerful single influence upon the President and his brothers in their formative years. According to Earl Eisenhower, the word "hate" was never mentioned in the family. "Of course," he says, "we were taught to hate evil. But you never hated people. You might get angry with them; you might think they were wrong; you might pity them; but you never hated them." It is this tradition, in conjunction with related personality traits, that doubtless accounts for the fact that the President has always been the least "military" of professional soldiers. It is this tradition which made his "peace speech" delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953, one of his few memorable utterances.

BUT IT was in his Guildhall speech, delivered July 12, 1945, on the occasion of the presentation to him of the freedom of the City of London, that the President gave clearest expression not merely to his deeply felt will to peace but to the basic friendliness and good-will which he exudes with a consistency that tends occasionally to be monotonous. Our advice to him, therefore, as he prepares for the Geneva conference, is to reread his Guildhall speech, the greatest of his career. It is the spirit of this speech which we should like to see reflected at the Geneva conference. Here is the Ike we like: his detestation of war and violence, his humility, his genuine sense of social democracy, his liking for people—all kinds of people—and his faith in the universality of human nature. The bonds between Abilene, Kansas, and London, England, are closer and more natural than those between Abilene and Moscow—but these, too, exist. As the President said then, when two peoples face the tragedy of war to defend the same values, they become truly related—"sisters under the skin"—in the deepest sense, whether they like the idea or not and despite the fact that neither cares to acknowledge the relationship. On three occasions in the past Americans have "discovered" the Russia of the Soviets: in the first post-revolutionary explorations of Steffens, Albert Rhys Williams, and their colleagues; in the spate of books and articles that appeared in the early 1930's after Washington had recognized the Soviet Union; and in a wealth of fine reporting, like that of the late Richard Lauterbach and others, that came with World War II. Of recent weeks, with the greater liberality in the granting of Soviet visas, Americans are beginning once again to "rediscover" Russia, and of course the rediscovery is basically the same, namely, that the Russians are human beings. The President has known this all along. If he will act at Geneva in the spirit of Guildhall, he will succeed in drawing the farms and plains of the Soviet Union a little nearer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas. It is with this in mind that we herewith reprint the historic Guildhall speech.

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Guildhall Address . . *by Dwight D. Eisenhower*

[*This speech was delivered by the then General Eisenhower almost exactly a decade ago—on July 12, 1945—upon the occasion of the presentation to him of the freedom of the City of London.*]

HUMILITY must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned by the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends.

Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history.

Still, even such a man—if he existed—would sadly face the fact that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan.

A commander can receive satisfaction from the tributes of his friends only by humbly acknowledging that no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels this symbolism and the rightness of what he has tried to do, he is disregarding the courage, fortitude, and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august assemblage is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content.

The feeling of humility cannot erase of course my great pride in being tendered the freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together equal in size possibly one five-hundredth of great London.

By your standards those towns are young, without your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong.

But I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London Council to have gone further afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.

To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene. When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas.

To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedy of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then in the deepest sense those two are truly related. So even as I proclaim my undying Amricanism, I am bold enough and exceedingly proud to claim the basis of kinship to you of London.

What man who has followed the history of this war could fail to experience an inspiration from the example of this city? When the British Empire stood alone but unconquered, almost naked but unafraid to defy the Hitler hordes, it was against this devoted city that the first terroristic blows were struck. Five years and eight months of war, blitzes big and little, flying V-bombs—all of them you took in your stride. You worked, and from your efforts you would not be deterred. You carried on, and uttered no cry for mercy, no wail of defeat. The Battle of Britain will take its place as another of your deathless traditions. And your faith and endurance have finally been rewarded.

You had been more than two years in war when Americans in numbers began swarming into your country. Most were mentally unprepared for the realities of war—especially as waged by the Nazis. Others believed that the tales of British sacrifice had been exaggerated. Still others failed to recognize the difficulties of the task ahead.

All such doubts, questions, and complacencies could not endure a single casual tour through your scarred streets. With awe our men gazed upon the empty spaces where once had stood buildings erected by the toil of peaceful folk. Our eyes rounded as we saw your women serving quietly and efficiently in almost every kind of war effort, even with flak batteries. We became accustomed to the warning sirens which seemed to compel from the native Londoner not even a single hurried step. Gradually we drew closer together until we became true partners in war.

In London my associates and I planned two great expeditions—that to invade the Mediterranean and that to cross the Channel. London's hospitality to the Americans, its good-humored acceptance of the added inconvenience we brought, its example of fortitude and quiet confidence in the final outcome—all these helped to make the Supreme Headquarters of the two Allied expeditions the smooth-working organizations they became.

They were directed by chosen representatives of two proud and independent peoples, each noted for its initiactive and for its satisfaction with its own customs, manners, and methods. Many feared that those representa-

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tives could never combine together in an efficient fashion to solve the complex problems presented by modern war.

I hope you believe we proved the doubters wrong. And, moreover, I hold that we proved this point not only for war—we proved it can always be done by our two peoples, provided only that both show the same good-will, the same forebearance, the same objective attitude that the British and Americans so amply demonstrated in the nearly three years of bitter campaigning.

No man alone could have brought about this result. Had I possessed the military skill of a Marlborough, the wisdom of Solomon, the understanding of Lincoln, I still would have been helpless without the loyalty, vision, and generosity of thousands upon thousands of British and Americans.

Moreover, behind us always were our great national war leaders and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion three million American men and women who served in the Allied Expeditionary Force would want me to pay a tribute of admiration, respect, and affection to their British comrades.

My most cherished hope is that after Japan joins the Nazis in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But—a fact important for both of us to remember—neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions, or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values. If we keep our eyes on this guidepost, then no difficulties along our path of mutual cooperation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and the hearts of all people, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

BUDDHIST REFORMER:

The Philosophy of U Nu . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Rangoon

SHORTLY before Prime Minister Nu left here for the long westward trip which would bring him ultimately to Washington, he said to me: "Please tell the American people that I am not going to their country to accept or to seek aid. My country needs help, but we will take it from no one unless we can give something in return."

U Nu is convinced, of course, that the acceptance of foreign aid would endanger his role as a "neutralist." This position, in a curious way, has left him in a freer position to *offer* aid. Three times in the last few months he has intervened in behalf of the eleven American fliers imprisoned by the Chinese—once during his own visit to Peking, again during Chou En-lai's return visit to Rangoon, and a third time when the two chiefs of state met at the Bandung conference. His intervention was on purely humanitarian grounds. "But I could not have made my appeals with a clear conscience," he explained to me, "had I been obligated to America. As it was, Chou En-lai knew I was speaking from my heart and not in discharge of any debt."

An orthodox Buddhist, U Nu is often swayed more by moral considerations than by those of practical politics. It is reported that he once fasted as a demonstration of support for the right of Moslems in Burma to slaughter cattle on a Moslem holiday. Buddhism prohibits such slaughter, but U Nu insisted that in this instance another Buddhist law took precedence—a law which requires that other religions be held in respect. He supported the Moslems in the face of an adverse public opinion. The religious factor has played an important—one is almost tempted to say a dominant—role in U Nu's regime since it began eight years ago. One of the Prime Minister's first acts in office was to "rebuild" Buddhism as a living force throughout the country, thus providing what he considered to be a necessary foundation for the nation's physical reconstruction.

U Nu is the chief architect of Burma's Eight-Year Plan, launched two years ago. With industrialization its goal, the program has suffered from lack of funds, a situation which U Nu hopes to remedy through Japanese reparations and a possible loan from the World Bank. On other fronts the country has been making remarkable progress. Land reform, a broad school-building program, and a remarkably successful drive against corruption have proved strong weapons in the government's fight against the 3,000 active Burmese Communists. The most dangerous anti-government group are not the Communists, however, but the 5,000 Kuomintang "guerrillas" still operating in the north along the Chinese border. It was good news for U Nu when the neighboring Thai government reported recently that a thousand of the Nationalist Chinese troops had surrendered to it.

The Buddhist emphasis on tol-

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erance is a key to U Nu's foreign policy, which coincides almost completely with Nehru's. Since the Bandung conference, at which Burma's Prime Minister made an excellent impression, it has been said that the two men are competing with each other and with Chou En-lai for the leadership of Asia. But intimates of U Nu insist that his relationship with India's Premier is one of cooperation rather than of competition. Peace means everything to Burma, the neutralism which Nehru and U Nu share grows naturally out of Burma's vulnerable geographic position and conforms with the religious tenets of its people.

U NU was born in 1907 of a middle-class family. His father was a merchant; his mother a deeply pious woman who saw that her children were raised in an orthodox environment. U Nu's rise from school teacher and journalist to a leader of Burma's nationalist movement durin the 1930's was described at some length by Maung Maung, a Rangoon editor in *The Nation* of May 21. It is this revolutionary background, plus his present commitment to neutralism, which fosters the legend abroad that he follows the Communist line. The Burmese themselves

Prime Minister Nu

and foreigners who have lived in Burma recently know better. U Nu is seeking to steer his country through the difficult shoals of democratic socialism. Burmese insist that they are living in a free country, not to be compared with the Soviet Union or Red China.

Interesting in this connection is the close and friendly relation which exists between Burma and Yugoslavia, another country that is following a radical but independent line. Tito and U Nu have exchanged visits and have issued a joint declaration stressing the principles of peaceful coexistence. Trade between the two countries is on the increase; recently a regular shipping service was established. Many Yugoslav specialists are in Burma helping the Burmese to solve various technical and social problems. Burmese timber and other products are flowing steadily to Yugoslavia.

U Nu, a small, round-faced man with a soft voice and gentle manner, has left many people—even among his admirers—with the impression that he is naive in international affairs. The Prime Minister's successful weathering of many political storms belies this. He is a man of principle, tough-fibered despite his appearance of softness, and the quality of his statesmanship is now recognized in most quarters of the world. At Bandung he showed himself to be perfectly well aware of the dangers to peace which darken the international scene. But he believes that aggression and subversion can best be met by a country which manifests a sincere determination to remain true to itself while showing tolerance for the differing ideologies of other lands.

SAN FRANCISCO'S ECHO

The Big Four's "Conscience" . . *by Gene Marine*

San Francisco

WHEN the United Nations "came home" to San Francisco during the week of June 20-26 to celebrate its tenth anniversary, the big story, in a sense, was that there was no story. That is, there was no great drama, no outstanding conflict which newsmen could label with headlines rooted in fear; nor was there any sudden development on which to base a story steeped in hope.

But a good many of the hundreds of correspondents present seemed to mistake a lack of drama for a lack of substance. Many concluded that the week of formal speeches represented nothing but oratory, and spent their time trying to build routine restatements by Molotov and Dulles into a "clash." It was Molotov himself, incidentally, speaking in a press conference, who dryly offered a realistic evaluation of Secretary Dulles's speech. He said simply: "Mr. Dulles set forth the position of the United States. That is what I can say in reply to that question." He could have added that there was nothing new in either his own address or Dulles's.

Yet there was a good deal more to the week than high-flown praise of the U.N. and effervescent compliments to the beauty of San Francisco; and beyond question the most important aspect of the meeting was the repeated display of unity by the more than fifty non-atomic nations. Bandung was mentioned at length by every nation that had been represented there, and by several which had not. There were repeated references to the "three-fifths of mankind" whose governments had met in the Indonesian city. And there was an almost unanimous voice among the smaller nations demand-

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ing action on the whole cold war problem and particularly on disarmament. Oddly, it was Harry Truman who best summed up this trend. Speaking on Friday night at the special invitation of the Secretary General—he had declined a previous invitation from Dulles—Truman said notice had been served "that the balance of mankind is not going to give up striving for peace and order just because the great powers cannot agree." His appearance drew by far the greatest ovation of the week; it was joined in not only by the public but by the delegates, their families and staffs, and by almost everyone in the press, radio, and TV galleries. Below me in a TV box, a cameraman was shouting "Hooray!" while diligently panning the crowd; behind me at the door, the cop on duty was wildly applauding. Officials said it was the greatest reception ever given anyone in the history of the United Nations; certainly it contrasted sharply with the polite applause that greeted the earlier, session-opening appearance of President Eisenhower.

Foreign Minister Molotov

There was plenty of evidence that the earlier conference in Indonesia cast a long shadow over San Francisco. Mahmoud Fawzi of Egypt referred pointedly to "the erstwhile pawns of old international politics," and stated dramatically that "they will have no rest nor will they let the world rest unless and until they are free. This," he added to strong applause, "is 1955." Later, referring to "the obstinate refusal by some" to give up colonialism, Fawzi warned: "Let those who still hesitate, who still have any doubts, let them tune in on Bandung and hear the unanimous voice of well over half the world."

There were other aspects to the remarkable unity of the smaller nations, a unity in which with the single exception of Cuba the Latin American delegations appeared to join the Bandung powers instead of following Washington. Almost to a man, the representatives of the non-atomic countries demanded the admission of the two dozen or more nations who have requested U.N. membership. The only exception was Communist China, on which there was some disagreement. In this connection India's V. K. Krishna Menon, smiling disarmingly, noted that the U. N. "was not intended to be either a Holy Alliance or an exclusive Club."

Most speakers were alert to the awful potentiality of an atomic war. When Carlos Romulo of the Philippines said that "either we eliminate war or we expose the fate of man to such hammer blows as have never before been recorded," he made the most temperate statement of the week on the subject. "That," said Egypt's Fawzi, "would be the last and final game," Speaker after speaker referred to the possibility of all of life being expunged by the "twin killers" of fission and fusion; it was obvious to every observer that even the most "limited" use of atomic weapons for destruction would bring down on the user the instant condemnation of the entire world.

The small nations are obviously looking forward to Geneva, but in their watchful gaze there is fear as well as hope—hope, of course, for a lessening of tension, a step toward peace, but fear that differences may be resolved at the expense of smaller countries, that the Geneva delegates may meet not to seek peace but to "carve up the world." U Pe Kin of Burma put it this way: "Perhaps we smaller men could not survive in that rarefied atmosphere at the top but we wish every success to our bigger brothers who are struggling to the summit. I hope they will spare time for an occasional glance down the hill to make sure that no bricks are being dropped, as they scramble upwards, on the people below who will be hit on the head."

On only one issue did there appear to be a definite split in the positions taken by the various non-atomic nations: the issue of revision of the U.N. Charter. There was no difference on goals; the question was simply one of whether Charter revision was the wisest of means. Mohammad Mir Khan of Pakistan summed up both the issues involved and one side of the argument: "The need for some Charter revision is noticeable in order to improve co-operation and reduce the so-called East-West conflicts in the United Nations, to alter its framework to suit the changed circumstances, to make its work more effective by extending its membership, and to regulate the use of the veto . . ." All the smaller nations were agreed on every one of these issues: the need for a climate of trust, the urgency of new outlooks to meet the fact of atomic destruction, the desirability of universal membership, and the burdensome aspects of the Security Council veto. But where Mir Khan and others, including Romulo of the Philippines, called for revision, others demurred.

Khalid El Azem, Syria's Foreign Minister, said flatly: "The Charter hardly lends itself to revision." Lebanon's Charles Malik agreed. And Menon, often hailed in the past as spokesman for much of Southeast Asia, said India's "general view is that if the Charter has to be revised, it will require agreement, and if there was agreement there would be no need for revision." Swate Komalabhuti, a member of Thailand's delegation, told me that his nation has "no plans" for Charter revision.

Pakistan's proposal was that Article 2, Section 7, which bars U. N. intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" be among the revised portions. Mir Khan charged that the interpretation of this provision has been such as to make it serve as a "stalking horse" in furthering "certain policies" contrary to the principles of justice. The Pakistani Ambassador also called for revision of membership provisions.

Iran's Foreign Minister, Abdollah Entezam, called not only for universality of membership but for an international U. N. police force; but he didn't commit himself on revision, and several delegates noted that an international force is already provided for under Chapter 7. Other delegations from the smaller

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ATOMS for PEACE

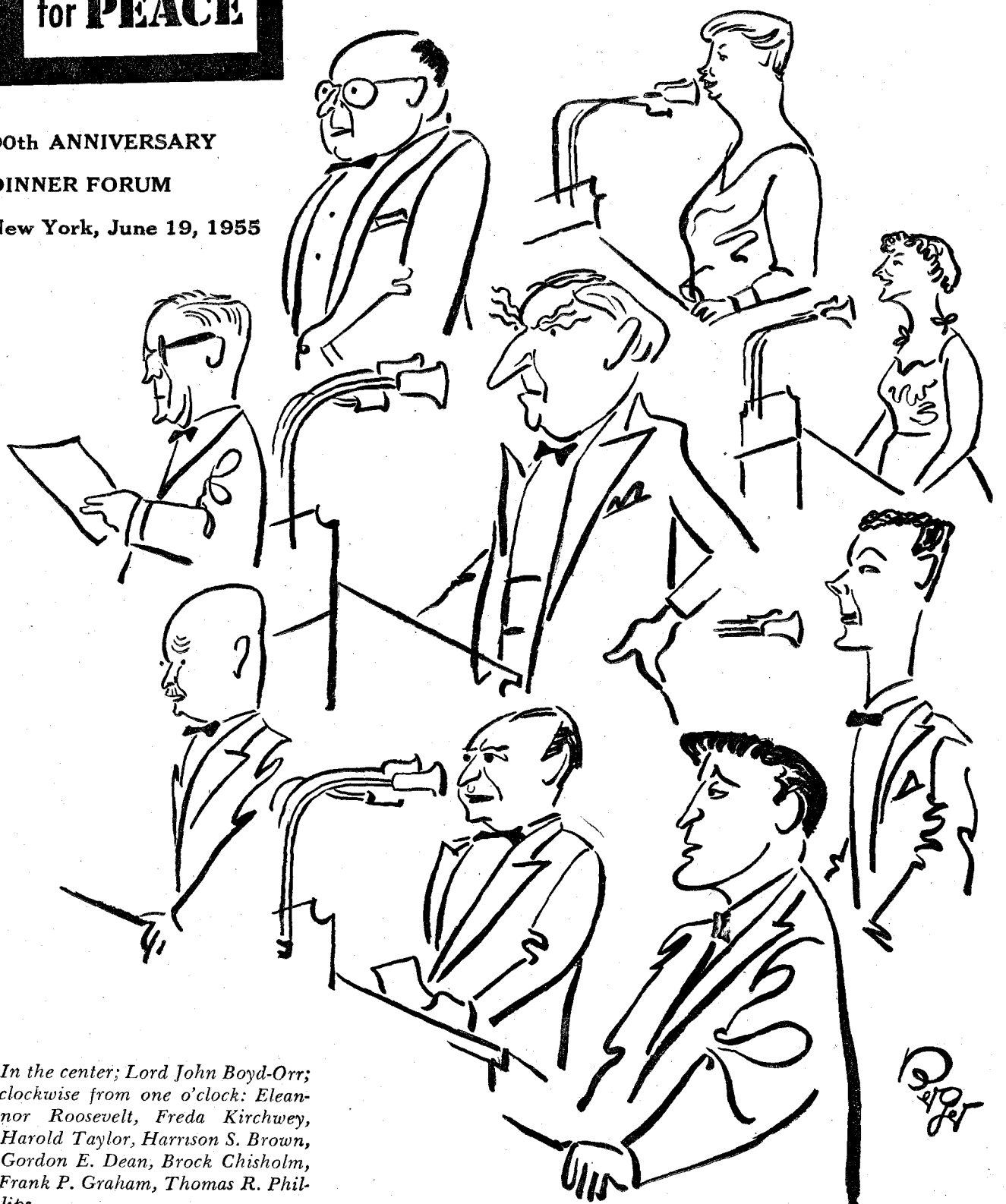
A Special Supplement

PART II OF THE ISSUE OF JULY 9, 1955

90th ANNIVERSARY

DINNER FORUM

New York, June 19, 1955



In the center; Lord John Boyd-Orr; clockwise from one o'clock: Eleanor Roosevelt, Freda Kirchwey, Harold Taylor, Harrison S. Brown, Gordon E. Dean, Brock Chisholm, Frank P. Graham, Thomas R. Phillips.

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On The Nation's Anniversary

Harry S. Truman

I am more than happy to congratulate *The Nation* on its ninetieth anniversary. I hope it has ninety more years of presenting the liberal side of things to the American people. We certainly need such a publication, and I think *The Nation* has filled the bill remarkably well.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman

I wish I could be present in person to join with many of my old friends in paying tribute to those principles of a free, dynamic, unfettered press which have characterized *The Nation* throughout its long and historic existence.

At times I have disagreed with articles which have appeared in *The Nation* and have differed with the judgment of its editors, but I have always admired this publication's courage and forthrightness in reporting and commenting on the news and in presenting controversial and thought-provoking discussion to the public. *The Nation,* throughout the nine decades of its existence, has well served the purpose of promoting free debate in our country—a purpose which lies at the heart of our democracy. Across the long span of years of its existence *The Nation* has regularly defied those who would dictate orthodoxy or define heresy. It will continue to outlive the witch-burners, as it has on numerous occasions in the past.

Dag Hammerskjold

Secretary General of the United Nations

I am happy that the ninetieth anniversary celebration of *The Nation* should be devoted to Atoms for Peace. This imaginative, courageous, and generous plan for world-wide cooperation in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes offers a great opportunity and a great challenge to all the members of the United Nations. Public awareness in all countries of this opportunity can do nothing but good, and it is fitting that America's oldest political weekly newspaper should play a part in calling attention to it.

Justice Felix Frankfurter

United States Supreme Court

I salute *The Nation* as it starts the last decade of its century. I have traveled with it for more than half its life, not always abreast, sometimes behind it, on occasion in front of it. Always, however, I have felt the tonic of its independence and its certitude. The clash of ideas and their rigorous expression are indispensable in man's groping toward the wise conduct of affairs. To this process, indispensable for a democratic society, *The Nation* has been unstinting and courageous in its efforts.

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Publisher, the New York Times

The Nation was founded in a time of crisis for American democracy. It is celebrating its ninetieth birthday in a period far from settled, when we do not know what new crises await our democratic institutions. But we do know that a completely free and responsible press is the foundation stone of liberty. In its long history *The Nation* has been a militant exponent of freedom of speech and press; and I hope that it will never falter in the fight to preserve the freedoms that are the special heritage of America.

Helen Rogers Reid

Former Chairman of the Board, New York Herald Tribune

My congratulations to *The Nation* on its milestone anniversary and its identifying the subject of its celebration with the one that characterizes the leadership of the American nation. Since the President's speech in December, 1953, "atoms for peace" has become a motivating force in our country's relationship with other countries of the world that can triumph over all differences. I am sure that this distinguished magazine will make an important contribution with its program tonight and its publication during the years to come in a cause that can revolutionize the world.

Moshe Sharett

Prime Minister of Israel

I send my greetings to The Nation Associates again assembled in dedication to the search for world peace and progress. Our generation faces the necessity to match the immense scientific advances of the present decade with increased international understanding and cooperation.

The Nation's long record as a devoted champion of great and noble causes has placed it in the front rank of those striving for justice and peace among men and peoples. In dedicating this evening to the topic "Atoms for Peace," *The Nation* once again performs a vital service by directing men's minds to the basic issue of our society and age. Israel in its endeavor for economic progress and peaceful development is a prospective beneficiary of the new potentialities of atomic energy, and its scientists contribute to the universal sum of theoretical and applied nuclear knowledge. May your meeting promote yet further the vital end of peaceful human cooperation.

Ernest Gruening

Former Governor of Alaska

Heartiest congratulations to *The Nation* on this memorable occasion in its long and useful service. This is a time of reconstruction no less than when *The Nation* was born, only now on a greater, a global scale. Courageous dissent from unthinking conformism, the assertion of good old minority independence of thought which has held America to its best traditions and its still better potentialities, the reiteration of time-tested principles, with full comprehension of the implications of a rapidly changing world—are more needed now than ever.

May these, which have been *The Nation's* practice for its first ninety years, continue with undiminished

(*Continued on page* 44)

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The 90th Anniversary Forum on Atoms for Peace

In this supplement we present extensive extracts from the addresses delivered at The Nation's *90th anniversary dinner forum, Atoms for Peace, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on June 19. Space limitations made it impossible to print the full texts.*

The occasion proved a remarkable one for the more than 800 persons in attendance, and we are convinced that what the speakers had to say will gain in significance as time goes on. The day is past when the atom can be kept as the jealously guarded secret of the politician and the soldier. In an atomic war there will be more plain people blown up than either politicians or soldiers.

In this sense, then, the forum was a long overdue first lesson in the potential of the atom for limitless good and limitless evil. The speakers more than lived up to the opportunity given them. Adroitly they maneuvered the spotlight so that it revealed in turn the choice presented to mankind—mass destruction or a braver and newer world than man has ever known. It can be said that, so far as the atom is concerned, mass instruction is the only alternative to mass destruction. We hope that forums of this kind can be repeated many times by what Harold Taylor called "dedicated groups" in every part of the world.

Mr. Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, presided during the evening. Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and since 1951 the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan, read the tributes *(see page opposite).* *One of the evening's highlights was the standing ovation given Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was introduced by the chairman as "Our First Lady—no matter who is President."*

—Editors THE NATION.

AMERICA AND THE ATOM

How We Have Failed . . *by Gordon E. Dean*

SIXTEEN years ago several scientists, including the late Dr. Enrico Fermi, approached Albert Einstein and told him that certain experiments with nuclear fission had approached such a point that they felt the highest authority should know about it. They asked Einstein to go to Washington to see the President. But the modest professor said, "I really don't feel that I could disturb so busy a man." He was induced, however, to write a letter to the President. A friend sat down at a portable typewriter on the back porch of a home where Einstein was visiting. He might have used a better typewriter ribbon for one of the most important documents in human history. However, the simplicity and lucidity of Einstein's style were so effective that upon receiving the letter the President, on a little memorandum to General Watson wrote, "See that this is done." With that authorization $5,000 was appropriated, and the atomic-energy program of this country was begun.

GORDON E. DEAN is a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Sixteen years after this event the United States had spent more than ten billion dollars on its atomic-energy program; huge stockpiles of bomb had been accumulated; atomic energy programs had developed in a score of countries around the world; a submarine called the Nautilus was sailing the Atlantic, propelled by a nuclear reactor; another submarine, also nuclear propelled but of quite different design, was soon to be on its way; large public utilities both in this country and abroad were designing reactors to produce electricity from the heat caused by the fission of uranium atoms; industry, medicine, and agriculture were examining the effects of radiation to understand its dangers and to harness it to useful purposes. Reactors—that is, nuclear furnaces—exist today in Great Britain, Canada, Sweden, Norway, and France and will soon be constructed in many other countries, including Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Australia, Italy, Turkey, Switzerland, India, and Brazil. Much has happened.

That the atom has already had a terrific impact on the world is quite obvious; that its impact to date is only a fraction of its potential is equally clear. That the world will be revolutionized is plain. That the United States has the capacity to bring about this revolution is also plain. But whether the United States will play the leading part it could have played is today a very serious question.

We forget sometimes that the atom is international, that it knows no nationality, race, or ideology. It will go about its sometimes productive work just as loyally for a Russian, a Pole, or a Chinese as it will for an American, a Briton, or a Frenchman. The atom obeys only one set of laws—the laws of physics. And man's mastery over the atom is directly proportional to his comprehension of these laws. The real "top secrets" in atomic energy are those that are still held by nature. Those which nature has released are generally known. Every now and then the scientists of one nation or another wrest a new secret from nature, either by accident or by dint of great effort. When this occurs, the nation that discovers the new information may lock it in a safe and disclose it only to those it considers to be

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loyal and trustworthy. But nature herself remains a "security risk" that cannot be controlled. The secret that has been learned by one may be and usually is quickly learned by another. The blunt fact is that while the United States has the capacity to revolutionize the world through the development of peace-time uses of atomic energy, in all probability the United States will play but a part in this revolutionary process. We have no monopoly.

A LITTLE history is perhaps in order at this point.

Until a year ago the Atomic Energy Act of the United States prohibited interchange of information with other countries dealing with commercial applications of nuclear energy except in the field of radioactive isotopes. One reason for this legislative prohibition was that if any country should build a reactor for the generation of heat, it would be manufacturing in the course of the process plutonium, and that plutonium, being fissionable or explosive, could readily be fashioned into bombs. The reasoning was just that simple, and I might add that up to a certain point it was valid. Seventy per cent of the United States effort goes into making fissionable material. Fashioning a bomb out of this material is comparatively simple, and today the general theory is well known. The reason we did not interchange information on the making of fissionable material was that we did not wish to hasten the day when other countries could have a bomb.

But many things have happened since the act was written. Canada has built reactors. England has built reactors and bombs. France has built reactors. All therefore produce plutonium. And within the past several years other countries have built them—not, I should add, to get bomb material but to find a way to get heat and eventually electricity from these reactors.

Furthermore in 1949 something very significant happened, something we sometimes forget when we make security policy. Russia exploded an atomic bomb and has since exploded many others. It followed that Russia had built reactors and separated out plutonium. Since that date it has accumulated an imposing stock pile of bombs to which it has more recently added the much more destructive hydrogen bomb.

Almost a year ago Congress, fully aware of these developments, amended the Atomic Energy Act to permit transfer of information touching upon peaceful uses of atomic energy to friendly countries and set up machinery for bilateral agreements whereby any atomic information could be interchanged except information dealing with the fabrication of atomic weapons.

Even before this the President had spoken eloquently for sharing the blessings of the atom. The message stirred the people's imagination, particularly in those countries which saw in the peaceful atom a new fuel, a new source of power.

Both before the President's speech of 1953 and since we have taken some steps which have been highly useful. Actually the Atoms for Peace program of the United States Atomic Energy Commission goes back to September, 1947, when we first began the international distribution of radioisotopes. Such distribution was permitted even under the original Atomic Energy Act. Since then forty-six countries have received in all many thousands of shipments from the United States. Nearly 5,000 individuals and organizations today throughout the world are employing radioisotopes in the fields of medicine and agriculture and in their industrial processes.

In the more recent past we have made other notable strides in the field of international cooperation. A conference has been called under the aegis of the United Nations for this summer in Geneva, where over 1,000 technical papers will be presented by various countries around the world, over one hundred by the U.S.S.R. For the first time the atom will have literally been placed on an international stage. I hope the results will be significant.

In recent months the United States has negotiated agreements with Turkey, Columbia, Brazil, and some ten other countries whereby these countries will receive enough nuclear fuel and the necessary design material to build a research reactor. We can expect that many such agreements will be signed in the months ahead. There remains, however, one great area in which the United States has been deficient, and that is in making information concerning power reactors available. It was to this area and this great need that the President again addressed himself last week at Pennsylvania State College. His proposal deserves quick implementation by the people on the Atomic Energy Commission and in the State and Defense departments.

Today in many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere the lack of power is holding back economic and social developments. As one high-placed observer recently said of Europe, "Next to peace, electric power is the primary interest of many governments. Unless something is done about it, the lights will grow dim over Europe."

PEOPLE everywhere want cheap power. The atom gives great promise of supplying it. The United States has many times in the past two years promised assistance in this field, but we are not delivering on our promises. The government is still not quite willing to give friendly foreign countries the information they need to build modern power reactors, and is not even willing to permit an American industrial concern to sell a power reactor to a foreign country—at least to countries which don't have them. This is not the fault of Congress, for Congress last year amended the Atomic Energy Act and set up simple procedures to accomplish the result. What, then, is holding us back? I very much fear that we are still operating on the theory that some day the Russians will be able to build a reactor, make plutonium, and fabricate a bomb.

To illustrate: We are today building in this country two reactors optimized so as to produce power. One is a large central-station power plant being designed by Westinghouse and to be operated by the Duquesne Power and Light Company. We are also building at the request of the army a smaller so-called "package" power plant. But both bear the secret label. The design of neither is available to other countries, or for that matter to American industry except under security conditions. Today foreign countries may have, as for years they have had, all the information they wish on the uses of

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radioactive isotopes. They may have the design of a research reactor and the unclassified literature and "know-how" necessary to build and operate a research reactor. But let's face it—what they want is atomic power, and American industry would like to supply the reactors to produce it.

WE ARE simply not implementing the President's "atoms for peace" proposal. I submit that if we do not soon change our policy and take the secrecy wraps completely off these power reactors, our pretension that we are spreading blessings will have a very hollow ring. The most significant and most dramatic item which we have to sell to the underdeveloped areas of the world is our latest knowledge on power reactors. If we do not move soon, our friendly competitor, England, will surely do so. American refusal to act is even today causing many European countries to turn to others for assistance in solving their power crisis.

Sweden, intent upon building a research reactor and later a power reactor, knew that it would be useless to apply to the United States. It therefore extracted uranium from its own shales, turned to France to bring the uranium oxide to the metal stage, to the United Kingdom for help in fuel fabrication, and to Norway for heavy water. Sweden built its research reactor and is building its power reactor. Less well-developed countries, such as India and Brazil, have turned to France. In fact, practically every country in Europe has turned for atomic assistance to England or France and received it.

If we do not move soon, our unfriendly competitor, the U. S. S. R., might even beat us to the golden opportunity. It has promised to supply information on its own power reactor at the Geneva conference.

The policy of secrecy on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes will have other effects. American industrial concerns which today are anxious to supply this potentially tremendous demand for reactor equipment are not free to develop the market. But England has a sharp eye on this market and is placing its know-how and machinery where it is in demand.

How does a country engage in a full interchange of information and materials for power reactors? There are two ways. The first is to keep the secrecy label on these reactors and supply them only to countries which we trust to keep the secret by setting up satisfactory security procedures. I submit that this is completely unrealistic and that it not only ties our own hands but makes us enemies rather than friends. For every country we approve we will make an enemy among the countries we turn down. Foreign countries are interested in the best and latest information on reactor design; they know they will not obtain cheap power without it. But I am sure we cannot police the security systems of all the countries with which we deal. I can visualize someone in a friendly country expressing a point of view in a public speech which would make him suspect by our security standards; this followed by a Congressional investigation into the arrangements made with that country, and finally by charges, countercharges, and much ill-will.

THERE is no reason for that sort of thing if we face up to a few facts of life. One of those facts is that the only reason we have a security system is that we do not want to add to the Russian stock pile. Another is that the Russians have a stock pile, a sizable one, and in a few years will have enough of a stock pile perhaps to cancel out, for all practical purposes, the much larger United States stock pile. Since it would take the Russians about three years to take the latest reactor information and with it build a modern reactor, and since perhaps the most they could expect to gain by doing it would be a small increase in the amount of plutonium manufactured, and since this would be but a drop in the bucket compared to what they have already produced and could have no effect on the "canceling-out" situation, I submit that if we operate on the assumption that there are real security considerations in the reactor field, we are tying our hands and the hands of the other countries of the West. Not security but the appearance of security is all that will be achieved. I want to make the point that in the field of peacetime uses there is no need and no room for secret labels. An "atoms for peace" ship plastered with secret labels had best not leave port.

The second way to implement power-reactor interchange is for the Atomic Energy Commission to declassify with one bold stroke all power-reactor technology, facing up to the fact that the Russians long ago perfected the bomb, that without such action we will make enemies out of three-quarters of the Western world whose security systems don't match ours, that what we are talking about here is nothing more than a new source of heat for power and that the world wants cheap power. If we take this step, and it must be soon, in 1955—and remember we need no new laws to do it—America can again assume leadership position in the atomic field.

American industrial concerns will be free to compete in the world markets. They will be able to sell power reactors to mining countries in the far north, the high Andes, and the jungles of Africa. They will be able to instal large central-station power plants in countries which now desperately need them. They will be able to supply the power to convert salt water to fresh, irrigate the deserts, and alter the entire face of the globe. They will be able to make good friends and good-will for America.

Power of the Dedicated

Three qualities should distinguish the editor of an important journal—courage, integrity, and intelligence. These qualities have been predominant in The Nation, whose ninetieth birthday we are celebrating, and in the work of Freda Kirchwey, its present editor. . . .

The liberal journal of opinion in which we can find articles written without the inhibitions which affect the big and the powerful has far greater influence than most of us imagine. Indeed, I think we often lose sight of the power that can be wielded by small dedicated groups of people who know what humanity means and are willing to work night and day to help others achieve it. The other day I heard a rephrasing of Kipling: "If you keep your head while all about you are losing theirs, you probably don't understand the situation." The biggest need for all of us in this room is to keep our heads and to understand.—Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, forum chairman.

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UNDERWRITING THE ATOM

A Plan for a U. N. Fund . . *by Lord Boyd-Orr*

THE hydrogen bomb has given the world the biggest jolt since civilization began. The two greatest military powers have the bomb. But neither can use it without itself going down in wholesale death and destruction. In the words of Winston Churchill, "War would result in mutual annihilation."

The leaders of the great powers now realize that every effort must be made to avoid war and are talking about peaceful coexistence. But coexistence in an armament race, with both sides piling up hydrogen bombs, offers a precarious sort of peace. In the present inflamed political atmosphere some quite minor incident may cause the piled-up armaments to explode in a world war. That would mean the end of civilization and perhaps of the human race.

We cannot go on peering over the rim of hell. We may become hypnotized and tumble in. Before we can have an assured permanent peace, we must have a *cooperative* coexistence—with all nations working for their mutual benefit in a world plan of Atoms for Peace—which will bring in the new wonder age of peace and plenty made possible by modern science. We are already moving in that direction. The United States has made an important advance in offering aid to other nations which want to produce nuclear energy to use for their peaceful economic development.

President Eisenhower said in 1953: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who are hungry and who are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed." This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

General Marshall once said that "the skyscrapers of America cannot exist in this now small world side by side with the ruined cities of Europe." It is equally true that the economic wealth of the industrialized countries cannot continue to exist side by side with the abysmal poverty of the majority of human beings. That poverty has to be seen to be believed. The average life of two-thirds of the population of the world is only thirty to forty years, as against the average of seventy in wealthy countries. Premature death results from the lack of the physical necessities of life.

We could supply the starving with abundance and in doing so preserve our own society. For there is a real danger: people are no longer content to die quietly. They will revolt, and unless something is done they will tear down these Western civilizations.

You have read about the African-Asian conference at Bandung. There the leaders of the colored peoples met—men who wouldn't have been allowed inside a white man's club twenty years ago. They represented 1,400,000,000 people. They didn't make many decisions, but they did make one: that they would cooperate with each other for political freedom and would never be under the subjection of either the Kremlin or the Pentagon.

Japan with a population of 40,000,000 adopted Western technology and became one of the world's great powers. Today the Asian nations have all adopted Western technology. How soon will they develop their immense potential power — these nations that contain the majority of the people of the world? The great question is: shall we cooperate with them in a friendly way to help them as quickly as possible to raise their standard of living and abolish poverty? Or shall we let them develop in hostility to our Western civilization?

I am proud to say that the country to which I belong faced this question some time ago and gave up imperialism, offering complete freedom and independence to India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan. What has been the result? These new nations are all the greatest friends of the United Kingdom. We have increased the prestige of our country out of all proportion to its military power.

You will tell me that under Truman's Point Four the United States is giving economic assistance. The United Nations is supplying technical aid. The U. N. organizations—F. A. O., W. H. O., UNESCO—are all doing excellent work. And the bulk of the money is coming from the United States.

All true. But you are not getting much for your money, and I will tell you why. You are not giving it in the right spirit. You want to stop the march of communism? You can't stop communism that way.

What we have all got to realize is that the trickle of money going out through these agencies is hopelessly insufficient. Your Mr. Reuther of the C. I. O. has estimated that if we are going to lift the world out of poverty in the near future, it will take something like ten to twelve billion dollars a year, a vast amount of money. How are we going to get it?

I CAN suggest a way to get it. If we are not going to have war, we must have gradual disarmament. To begin with we could say to all the nations: "We will all agree to reduce our expenditure on armaments by 10 per cent, and the money saved we will put into an International Development Fund under the U. N. to be used to develop the world's vast potential resources and eliminate poverty." No nation is so poor that it can't afford an army.

LORD BOYD-ORR, authority on world food problems, was the first director general of the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization.

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Therefore, under this scheme, every nation would be able to contribute, and all would cooperate in a world effort.

You cannot help the poverty-stricken people of the world by charity. The countries that receive it only feel humiliated, You cannot develop the wealth of the world except through the business methods we have known for all these centuries. Any loans offered by any such international authority should be on a business basis, with the agreement that repayment would begin as soon as the standard of living had been raised to a level where no person was dying for lack of the necessities of life.

What would be the results of such an enterprise? One would be an end to the seething revolt against poverty that is taking place in Asia and in Africa.

I watched events in Europe. When things looked bad after the war, communism spread. Marshall Aid came in, good harvests, people feeling hopeful, better standards of living; communism receded.

Such a plan as I have suggested will allay unrest and save our Western civilization. We Europeans must say to you Americans that we cannot exist except in friendship with you, and in our interest, as well as yours, we are going to help you put this thing through as a business proposition. It will do us as much good as it will you, because it will create an enormous extension of world markets.

President Truman once said, "If we could discuss with the Russians our common interests in world agriculture, it would be easier to discuss political problems." If you could get them to cooperate in a great concrete scheme of the kind I have suggested you would lay the foundation of a world order without which, as Churchill warned us, there is no hope for the future. We must build a new order from the bottom up by getting all nations to cooperate in a scheme to better the conditions of the people.

Some people say Russia would never come in. Did we ever ask them? If the Western nations, the whole group, said, "We are prepared to do this—gradually disarm, apply science for the welfare of all the people of the world, to abolish hunger and disease, and so on," any nation which didn't cooperate would be labeled an enemy of the human race. No nation could afford to stay out.

I would go further and suggest that the qualifications for admission to the United Nations should not be whether a country is capitalist or Communist or Socialist. The qualification should be: Is it prepared to cooperate with all other nations in applying modern science for the promotion of the welfare of all mankind?

You say it can't be done? It is being done. Attempts are being made. Just now we have had another offer from the President of the United States to set up reactors in other countries for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. This is a great gesture that the world should follow. We must realize that the world is living in a totally new age. The question is whether our modern civilization can adjust itself to the great forces now at large, or is going to do what other civilizations have done—disappear.

Another one of your Presidents said, "The day that all the common people of the world demand peace, we will get it." If we do not accept our responsibility for the world's survival, if we leave everything to the generals and politicians, we shall deserve the fate we get.

I hope each one of us here tonight will do his utmost to create a world-wide public opinion in favor of peace, in favor of the cooperation of nations, so that we may enter the new atomic age—an age based on Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, an age in which poverty and hunger will be eliminated, an age in which the whole human race can rise to a higher level of physical welfare and a higher level of culture than any privileged nation has ever reached in the past.

In the Service of Truth

by Eleanor Roosevelt

I WAS talking to some young people the other night, and someone asked me if I ever found that I had to change my mind. I looked at him for a minute and said, "Yes, sometimes the very next day." It is surely a terrible thing when young people think that what you think at eighteen means that you can never think any differently, or that you are going to be held to account for what you thought at eighteen. It seems to me that means a loss of freedom.

It is refreshing to pay tribute to a journal that has lasted ninety years and has managed to remain free. I am quite sure that it is going to remain free. It will state the truth as the individuals who write for it see the truth. And that is something we cannot always be sure of finding today.

I think all writers should make up their minds that they must write as freely and as truthfully as they possibly can, because we are living in an age when people must feel sure that they are given the truth as nearly as one can find it. The atomic age is a difficult time for a democracy. If people do not understand what problems they face, it leads to apathy, to indifference, to shifting the responsibility that each individual ought to feel. That must be avoided if a democracy is really going to be a democracy.

We know, all of us, that if we use atomic energy for making war it is quite possible to destroy our civilization, but most of us do not know, as yet, what can happen in a world where the same energy is used for peaceful purposes. I obtained just an inkling when I was in Oak Ridge this spring. It gave me a sense of how important it was for the peoples of the world to know what good atomic energy could bring them. I hope that gradually the peoples of the world will know, but that will require patience and restraint and great confidence that the democracies will do something for them which no totalitarian government can possibly accomplish.

It will take *The Nation* and all that it can do, and many other courageous newspapers and journals and writers and speakers, to help us have faith that what we believe can win out in a world at peace.

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THE ATOM IN WAR

A Military Estimate . . *by Thomas R. Phillips*

MORE important than "atoms for peace," it seems to me, is the subject of atoms for war and, more particularly, how to get rid of atomic weapons.

What I dislike about atoms for peace is the false connotation that goes with it. The Eisenhower Administration produced the slogan nineteen months ago, primarily, I imagine, as an American answer to Soviet propaganda for peace. The falsity in it is in the word "peace." Atoms for peace has nothing to do with peace. It is concerned with industrial, scientific, and other uses of atomic energy. Using "peace" in this context is very much as if the Hercules Powder Company were to advertise dynamite for peace. I resent the effort to trick me with slogans. I dislike to have the American people subjected to advertising that gives them dreams of peace with no substance.

I have spent my adult life as a professional soldier, and it may seem curious for me to advocate the abolition of nuclear weapons. I do so because for the past three or four years I have tried assiduously to follow the development of nuclear weapons and to foresee the nature of a war in which they would be used. I have come to the conclusion, as I believe almost anyone who studied the problem intensely would, that a nuclear war is insanity. I doubt that the mass of Americans realize this, for their minds are pounded upon by one sensation after another and they hardly differentiate between a war that would bring death to tens of millions by nuclear fires and radioactive poisons and the latest knifer in the vicinity.

The central problem that confronts mankind today, and possibly the most serious problem in man's history, I believe, is whether knowing in advance the destruction and death to be expected from nuclear war we shall continue to arm with nuclear weapons and prepare for nuclear war.

The generation of the thirties was a lost generation because the economic life of the country had disintegrated around their parents and it looked as if there were no future for them. They blamed the lack of wisdom of the older generation for their plight. But not many of the older generation had seen clearly the direction in which the economy was heading. The present older generation can see what will happen in a nuclear war, but still it goes ahead with preparations to wage it. What will the next lost generation think of us when it picks itself up from the ashes of our civilization, delimits and evacuates the poisoned areas, and starts to re-create our present condition of well-being?

Most of the cities and industry and half the population of Europe and European Russia could be destroyed. The same destruction could be laid on the United States to a lesser degree, lesser because our geographical position favors us today. With half the civilized world dead, with industry wiped out, with much of the farm land poisoned, can anyone doubt that nations then would reach an accommodation? The question we must answer today is whether the accommodation will be reached before or after the catastrophe.

Our fate is being decided for us without our realizing it in the secret councils of the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The complications of the problem and the growing secrecy around the operations of government prevent the public from knowing that the United States has almost reached the point where any war will be nuclear, where we shall have no choice except to use nuclear weapons.

This is coming about for three reasons. The first is the unwillingness of the West to match the manpower in uniform of the Soviet Union and its satellites. General Gruenther is perfectly justified in saying that the NATO forces will have to use atomic weapons whether the enemy does or not: NATO is so greatly inferior in numbers that it must make up for it with atomic weapons. That NATO has fewer ground forces is not to the credit of the nations concerned. The fifteen NATO nations have about 160,000,000 more population than the Soviet Union and the European satellites. Why do they have so many fewer divisions than the Communists? According to Field Marshall Montgomery it is because "our political chiefs have never shown any great enthusiasm in giving us enough divisions to be able to do this [win the war] without such weapons."

A second reason that the military believe we shall have to use atomic weapons in a war in Europe is that the enemy's possession of them makes it necessary for our troops to disperse for defense against them. If the enemy attacks in stronger formations we shall be unable to meet them. Our only recourse then is to use atomic weapons and make him disperse also.

A third reason, not in effect yet but soon to become a reality, is the cost and wastefulness of a double weapon system, atomic and conventional. Why retain thousands of conventional cannon, when a single nuclear shell or bomb will do more damage than 100,000 ordinary shells fired from thousands of cannon? The army and navy can reorganize completely around atomic weapons with very great obvious savings.

This is the last year before reorganization around atomic weapons takes place. It is under study and will begin with the forthcoming an-

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nual appropriation. When the shift has been completed we shall have reached the point of no return. Any war will be atomic. Montgomery says: "In fact we have reached the point of no return as regards the use of nuclear weapons in a hot war." But Monty was thinking of SHAPE and its problems. In a larger sense there still is a short time left to save us from the horror that is approaching.

NO ONE knows just how a full-scale nuclear war would be conducted. It is agreed, in general, that the opening major battle would be a combat to extinction between the opposing air forces. In an effort to protect its own country from nuclear bombs each would try to wipe out the enemy's means of delivering them. Neither side can expect to be wholly successful.

A second mission for our bombers would be against the enemy's tactical airdromes, so that he could not destroy our ground forces. But nuclear bombs have been so reduced in size that entirely outside of the strategic air command the Allies have three thousand aircraft in Europe capable of carrying them. In consequence the battle against the hostile air force, the destruction of enemy communications and war industries—which are usually in large urban areas—and the use of nuclear weapons against the hostile ground forces could all take place simultaneously.

Larger targets would get thermonuclear bombs, with their vast area of destruction and the poisonous fall-out which can extend over many more thousands of miles than the seven thousand announced as the approximate coverage of the March, 1954, bomb.

The ground battle that will be taking place at the same time is insignificant in comparison with the air battle. Army planners and the staff at SHAPE are modest in their concept of nuclear war. They plan to use atomic weapons of the minimum size necessary to do a specific job. Why vaporize three hundred square miles with a thermonuclear bomb that releases as much energy as ten million tons of TNT, they argue, when an atomic bomb equivalent to ten thousand tons of TNT will do the job.

So the ground forces are planning to adapt nuclear weapons to the conventional battlefield. Soldiers have always survived, they argue, in spite of gunpowder, machine-guns, and the unheard of concentrations of artillery in World War I. By dispersing more and digging deeper they can survive against atomic weapons. The ground forces, therefore, are planning to use atomic cannon of low yield in destruction and atomic warheads on guided missiles, also with low yield.

Some years ago General Omar N. Bradley, testifying on the need for troops for Europe, said that if we had negligible ground forces in Europe the Russians could spread their forces one hundred yards apart right and left and front and rear and march to the Atlantic in spite of our atomic weapons.

That was an entirely valid statement when it was made. Atomic scarcity still ruled. The thermonuclear bomb had not been tested. Today one forty-megaton thermonuclear bomb would kill 79,000 soldiers dispersed in Bradley's squares.

While the ground forces have been trying to adapt the battlefield to atomic weapons, thermonuclear weapons have come up which if used as tactical weapons would wipe out a battlefield. General Ridgway speaks of a battle zone 150 to 200 miles deep as compared to the present battle zone 30 to 50 miles deep. This is no answer to the thermonuclear bomb. Thirty of them laid from the Baltic to Yugoslavia would create a vaporized and burned zone twenty miles wide and six hundred miles long. No one except a few radical thinkers in the air force dreams of this sort of warfare today, but it is so simple and so obviously effective that when the test comes it is likely to be adopted.

I explained this idea to a Polish Communist official who rode with me from Indo-China to Paris. He was horrified. Who will pay for this? he said, meaning who will be the victims? I said it would have to be the people who lived on the wrong side of the border, but they would be given notice to evacuate. Actually such a so-called tactical use of the hydrogen bomb would be almost as destructive as wholesale bombing of cities. In a recent maneuver of SHAPE a decision had to be made whether to bomb a city of fifty thousand where three thousand enemy soldiers had hidden. Obviously it had to be bombed or else any village would be a refuge. Fifty thousand harmless civilians had to be destroyed to get at three thousand soldiers.

SUPPOSE there were really an all-out thermonuclear war. Five hundred hydrogen bombs if properly placed could vaporize, burn, and poison the entire area of the United States and southern Canada. When both sides have such a capability, they reach the point that Sir Winston Churchill called saturation. Saturation, he explained, "means the point where although one power is stronger than the other—perhaps much stronger—both are capable of inflicting crippling or quasi-mortal injury on the other with what they have got." There is good reason to assume that "saturation" has been reached. The arms race now turns from nuclear weapons to the means of delivery and defense. The May Day practice flights over Moscow have shown that before long the Russians will be equal to the Americans in means of delivery and defense. We still shall retain the very great advantage of our geographical position and our overseas air bases.

What mankind faces, according to one idea, is a new dimension in terror which will prevent war. As Churchill phrased it, we may "have reached a stage where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation." It is widely believed that a major war today can be so destructive that no nation would make war. Obviously no one can win. This idea seems to me valid for a deliberately fomented war between major powers. But how about a minor war? The United States just missed becoming involved in Vietnam. The navy did not believe it could relieve Dien Bien Phu with conventional bombs from carriers. The air force figured that three small atomic bombs would take care of the Communists. Fortunately, the test was not made.

More recently the question of nuclear weapons came up in connection with Formosa and the offshore islands. If the United States had become involved in the protection

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of the offshore islands it would have been necessary to use atomic bombs on Chinese mainland airfields, on shipping concentrations, and on artillery and troops dispositions opposite the offshore islands. The Chinese Communists have announced that if atomic weapons are used on China atomic bombs will be used against the Seventh Fleet. They have this capability. Consequently, a minor war in which the United States used atomic weapons could easily snowball into a major war. The Soviet Union could not leave the Chinese Communist state helpless against American atomic power.

The danger that a small war in which the United States would be the first to use atomic weapons might well turn into a major conflict is due in part to what may be called the militarization of thinking in the State Department. I do not refer to the non-existent military mind. I mean that the State Department has more or less accepted the military habit of thinking in terms of comparative military power. Thus the Secretary of State promulgates the doctrine of massive retaliation. When this obviously is less than an answer to some of our problems in the Far East, he modifies it to tactical retaliation with "precision" weapons which will not injure "unrelated" localities. But what if the opponent retaliates in like measure?

Not long ago I had the edifying experience of listening to a senior State Department official explain that all wars have been horrible, that people have been killed in them, that weapons are made to be used, and that certainly atomic weapons will be used in the next war. This is where I take exception. Nuclear war would have no resemblance to any war ever fought before. It must be prevented before mankind destroys itself. The first step is to gain time. This means that even minor war cannot be risked. It should be remembered that the United States has already dropped the first two atomic bombs in warfare. We have sowed the wind.

In another war we shall, according to our military plans, again be the first to drop more atomic bombs. We shall do so for two reasons: first, it seems to be a simple and efficient way to wage war and, second, we are unwilling to compete in the conventional means of waging war. Dropping the first two atomic bombs was, I believe, the most tragic blunder in the life of our nation. But we are now prepared to do it again. This prospect has opened before us with hardly anyone realizing it. But we still have a little time to maneuver ourselves out of the trap we have set, not only for ourselves, but for all mankind.

THE BASIC CHALLENGE

Man's Outmoded Loyalties . . . *by Brock Chisholm*

IF anyone is not yet convinced that warfare is obsolete in any terms of which we have ever thought before, he need only look briefly at the possibilities of biological warfare. These possibilities render the atomic bomb childish. There are biologicals available immeasurably more potent and which make better weapons than atomic bombs. Their production and distribution are not dependent upon heavy industry, or large numbers of technical people, or large armies and air forces. One good biologist and about twenty people to distribute the end products would be sufficient.

It follows that if we would survive we are going to have to do a great deal of hard, serious thinking. And that is one of the most painful obligations that we could possibly be asked to fulfill. None of us has been trained to think. We have been trained to accept large numbers of premises, and then—more or less freely, and within defined boundaries—to do our thinking from there. Those boundaries are now superseded.

Until quite recently it seemed reasonable to expect that the human race would go right on improving its position, increasing its command over nature, striving toward new and better goals. But today, looking at the total world picture, one is reminded of catastrophic eras in the past which many times have wiped out forms of life that have lived far longer than man has lived. These life forms, unable to adjust quickly enough to changing circumstances, disappeared. Man is facing just such a situation now. He may well disappear from this world and give some other life form a chance unless he can adjust to a totally new situation.

The difficulty of our position today is that we cannot go to the past for help because no one in the past—not the people who developed great wisdom appropriate to their kind and their race, not the people who wrote many of the words our generations have lived for, not the people who wrote our constitutions or who developed our economic or social structures—were at home in the kind of world which we find about us now. Because that is true, the responsibility has developed in this generation quickly to assess everything we are and everything that we do. Otherwise the dreadful outcome might be that our children would turn out to be the same kind of people we have been—and nothing could be worse.

We are the kind of people who have fought each other throughout human history. We have not learned yet how *not* to do it, and we are not going to learn by going back to any of the ways of our ancestors.

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When the nations of the world came together and developed a great instrument like the United Nations and its specialized agencies, there was great hope in the world—and I hope the hope remains. But the U. N. is still only an instrument—and unfortunately, having developed it into usable shape, many of the nations which participated in shaping it went home and went right on behaving the way they always had behaved.

Whenever we are ready to use the United Nations and its agencies for the purpose for which they are designed and developed, they can be very effective indeed for the welfare of all peoples everywhere. But whenever an attempt is made to prostitute the United Nations to the service of any one group, the result is disastrous to the real purposes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

FACING this generation in the immediate future are revolutions such as never could have been dreamed of until now. More than half the people in the world are born hungry, will be hungry all their lives, and will die hungry. But never again will these people be content to die peacefully, because they know now that hunger is not necessary. It is useless for the people who are well fed to say to the hungry ones: "Well, within forty, fifty years or so, it may be that we can do a good deal about this hunger situation and make you people much more comfortable." A man who is himself hungry and whose children are hungry is not inclined to be reasonable and to be able to think in long terms. That is all very well for us who are well-fed, but not for hungry people. And it is the well-fed people who are going to have to take the lead in changing the living standards of the peoples of the world.

Up until now mankind has accepted certain loyalties. It has not been required of anyone until recently that his loyalties should go beyond national boundaries, or beyond group boundaries of some kind. But the world at this stage of development needs people who are able to function as world citizens, whose concern is undifferentiated as between peoples defined by race, color, religion, nationality, ideology, or anything else. It is no good for any of us to presume to tackle such problems as atomic energy or population pressures from a national point of view, or from within the entirely accidental geographical boundaries which define our nations.

It is amusing to contemplate how accidental the boundaries of many countries really are. One has the impression, sometimes, that they were created by tossing a coin; actually, that is a far more logical procedure than the one by which many national boundaries were drawn. Yet those boundaries are expected to confine the loyalty of intelligent and mature people.

If we imagine some one coming from Venus, say, to visit our earth, things would look quite simple to him. All that is necessary, he would think, is for people to get together, talk over the situation, and behave sensibly. But the man coming from another planet would soon find out that things are not simple; he would have to acquaint himself with the taboos of each of our cultures, with local loyalties, with the limitations put on our thinking, with the taboo words that we all have, and with the emotional connotations that go with our lands and our cultures. He would have to recognize that almost all the people of the world have been taught as children that people who are different are bad, and that to cooperate with them is dangerous. The visitor from Venus would think that all our civilizations, our cultures, our economic and social systems, are experimental and subject to change, whereas he would discover that those who advocate change are not exactly the most popular members of the societies in which they live.

WE ARE in trouble, very serious trouble, because of the numbers of people in the world. We are increasing by approximately 70,000 a day. It won't be long until there isn't room for anybody to sit down. Every time we raise the standard of living, people buy more automobiles and we have to have more four-lane highways. Has anybody figured up how much arable land a highway four lanes wide and sixty miles long uses up, and how much food is not produced that we need to maintain a higher standard of living? These are serious matters and should be seriously considered.

Our political institutions are regarded by some people as sacred and unchangeable because at one time or another our forefathers planned them as appropriate for their time and place. But I am sure that the founders never supposed that we would forever consider their institutions sacred and unchangeable. Nevertheless we have done so in many cases. And we find now that when the nations of the world have come together, and have stated publicly in the Charter of the United Nations and specialized agencies what they hope to do, it is very difficult for many of them to recognize that their own constitutions prevent their carrying out those goals. The truth is that none of our institutions is necessarily adequate for the present situation. That means, as I have suggested, that there is much hard thinking to be done. And the only effective thinking can be done by people who are free of taboos and of many types of loyalties which we have hitherto regarded as admirable.

There is no plan for the human race that can be evolved successfully from within one culture. That is unthinkable. But then lots of people expect that all sorts of unthinkable things will really happen. Many even project into the indefinite future some of the very same political institutions that we now have—national governments, for instance. Can anyone imagine the world a thousand years from now without a world government? Surely no one. World government may come in a few hundred years. But if it is going to happen in time to prevent destruction of the race, some thinking must be done now in this generation. It cannot be left to our children or theirs, because there is danger that there will not be any future generations to do our thinking for us.

Many of us who are laymen in many fields must learn to listen to people who are able to think freely, even though what they think shocks us in some of our deepest loyalties. That is where we need to be shocked, and if we don't take those shocks hard and do something about it, we will not survive much longer as a race.

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POWER FROM THE ATOM

Pattern of the Future . . *by Harrison S. Brown*

LAST fall while en route to India, I had the good fortune to spend some time at the British atomic-energy installations at Harwell and Risley and to talk at some length with scientists and engineers connected with reactor development in England. I was not only impressed; I was excited by the progress made during the last few years—progress which suggests that atomic energy may be precipitating a revolution similar in nature to the revolution which occurred in the eighteenth century when coal was first linked with iron.

In order to compete in the world market, Great Britain must step up its power consumption. The great question is where this power is to come from. Today British coal production stands at 220,000,000 tons a year. For a variety of reasons it is unlikely that production can be increased much above this figure. Exploitation of British coal mines is becoming very difficult because of the great depths from which the coal is now taken and the steepness and narrowness of the seams. In addition, coal mining is such an unattractive occupation that the number of miners is falling steadily. The only escape from this situation seems to lie in developing some new form of energy.

The same problem confronts other nations and will eventually confront the whole world. Reserves of fossil fuels — coal and petroleum—are finite, and the demand for them is increasing rapidly, primarily as a result of the spread of industrialization to Asia, South America, and Africa. Ultimately I believe that world-wide energy demands will be equivalent to about seventy billion tons of coal a year, and it is by no means unthinkable that they will reach two hundred billion tons. This would represent a seventy-five-fold increase in energy consumption. Total reserves of fossil fuels which can ultimately be mined probably amount to between eight hundred billion and eight thousand billion tons of coal. We can see, therefore, that the world as a whole cannot exist at a highly industrialized level for a very long time in the absence of new energy sources.

Clearly, atomic energy must finally play a major role in powering the world's industries. For some time to come, however, its use will be unevenly distributed. Economic considerations will determine in what regions of the world it will first be used on a large scale. Where electricity can be produced from atomic energy more cheaply than from coal, the use of atomic energy will spread rapidly. In other places it will probably have only rather specialized applications.

The United States possesses vast reserves of fossil fuels—reserves which on a per capita basis are far greater than those possessed by other nations. With such fuels both abundant and cheap, atomic energy is not likely to affect our economy as quickly as the economies of certain other regions of the world. Nevertheless, we shall go on developing atomic energy, and it is possible that the two cost curves—of fossil fuel and atomic energy—will cross in the high-cost-power areas of the United States in the course of the next few years. This approach to each other may be stimulated by the existence of government-owned plants and fuel, but once the curves cross, atomic energy will start playing a role in our power economy.

In Great Britain the two cost curves will probably cross very soon and atomic energy will then come into wide use. What of the small countries of Western Europe? Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium greatly need more power and are short of fuel, but it is doubtful whether they have the scientific and engineering man-power to carry out reactor-development programs on a large scale. It seems likely, therefore, that atomic energy will reach these countries via their importation of the necessary nuclear-power equipment.

Atomic energy can probably play a considerable role in the industrialization of underdeveloped areas of the world like India. Although India's reserves of coal are fairly large, they are by no means sufficient for the completion of a great industrialization program. The amount of hydroelectricity which can actually be generated is also small compared with ultimate energy needs. Moreover, in India both coal and hydroelectric power are localized resources.

I hope I have made it clear that in the short view atomic energy will by no means be a panacea for the world's ills, but that in the long view it may spell the difference between life and death. It may play a major role in facilitating the economic development of vast overpopulated, underfed areas like India.

One is heartened to see that after much delay the United States government is taking steps to share our reactor technology with other countries and to stimulate the construction of experimental reactors abroad. Negotiations with Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium, which will lead to agreements for the exchange of reactor technology are progressing. With three other countries negotiations have been started which will permit the transfer of fissile material for research reactors. The Atomic Energy Commission has announced that the construction of research reactors by private firms for sale abroad will be encouraged. In addition, the commission has established a reactor training school at the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago in which students from nineteen foreign countries are en-

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rolled. A training course in radioisotopes to be established at Oak Ridge has enrolled thirty two students from abroad.

Prospects for the use of atomic energy as a constructive force appear bright, and all of us should be proud of the part the United States is playing in this development. Unfortunately, atomic energy still has its destructive capabilities. Large-scale repetitions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are very real possibilities. And it is difficult to see how atomic energy can contribute markedly to the creation of a more abundant life until its danger to all life has been lessened by the imposition of effective international controls.

Atomic energy has given man the power to destroy himself, and also the power to transform the world. Can we agree upon international controls which will prevent his suicide? Can we cooperate with other nations in helping all men to have a free and abundant life? We are now being called on to answer these questions, and our answers will determine the course of history.

NINETY YEARS YOUNG

The Future's Challenge . . . *by Freda Kirchwey*

AT ninety years, *The Nation* seems younger to me than it was the week it was born! In fact, even when I joined the staff myself—thirty-six years or so back—*The Nation* of Godkin and Garrison seemed a distinguished and remote ancestor rather than the infant from which the contemporary *Nation* had grown. I thought of it as profoundly austere and elderly, even at its most astringent. And I thought of *The Nation* of 1919 as a brisk young journal, energetic and bold. As indeed, *The Nation* seems to me today .

This is neither tribute to nor censure of either era. It merely reflects two different sets of manners and attitudes. The early *Nation* was shaped by Victorian literary standards and the theology of Adam Smith. Its brilliant editor, Mr. Godkin, was a very young man when he founded *The Nation;* his associate, Mr. Garrison, still younger—barely 25. But the journal they edited was born mature. They viewed the booming, reckless, ruthless era that followed the Civil War with the sober eyes of a disapproving uncle. *The Nation* took on a mentor's task at a time when few heeded.

The event that gave a more youthful air to *The Nation* was World War I. When Oswald Garrison Villard took over the paper in 1918—though he was the nephew of Mr. Garrison and the son of Henry Villard, its former owner—he changed it in ways that were as revolutionary as those which, with the end of the war, were simultaneously changing the world. And for this he deserves great credit for he was most respectful toward his forebears. *The Nation* shed Victorianism, most of Adam Smith, and the style and format they had dictated. It became almost rambunctious. Its liberalism was rapidly adapted to the collective social controls demanded by an industrial age which had outgrown laissez-faire. The air we breathed in *The Nation* office was alive with hope and initiative. If we did not invent the New Deal we at least helped create the issues, and utter the protests, and expose the facts that led directly to it. And in the process we fought an unremitting fight for the freedom to promote social and political change without falling under the repressive hand of the contemporary witch-hunters.

In other words, to this survivor, the period that marked the change in *The Nation* from youthful maturity to mature youthfulness seems not only recent but relatively familiar. For instance, I looked, the other day, at the issue celebrating our 60th anniversary—a round thirty years ago. It's a nice issue, crisply written, and in the center of its first main article is a message of congratulation—if you want to call it that—from . . . well, let me read it first:

> It is certainly curious that so outspoken a journal as The Nation should have survived for sixty years in a country where Truth is tarred and feathered, lynched, imprisoned, clubbed, and expatriated as undesirable three times a week or so. The only encouragement I can offer you is that sixty has a better chance of reaching seventy than fifty of reaching sixty. I have been through both myself; and I know

The message was reproduced in its handwritten form. It was signed G. Bernard Shaw. It doesn't sound so antiquated, does it?

But why am I stressing this business of youth and age? What if *The Nation* has moved along with the speeding time and even pushed a bit ahead? The point is this:

We are on the edge of *new* changes so overpowering in what they promise or threaten—so vast by comparison with the social-industrial revolution of the late 19th century, and that of the 20's and 30's of this century—that they call for every element of strength and imagination, of adaptability and penetration, and particularly of courage and candor that a free press can possibly muster. The approaching age of unlimited power and almost unlimited mechanical controls cannot be managed—may not even be survived—unless all those qualities are freely put to work. Today, on the threshold, they *cannot* be freely put to work. Not only are our newspapers, our radio and television networks operating under government controls which cut off whole areas of information; they are also crippled by their own limitations. Over large parts of this country we have what amounts to a one-party press—functioning in one-newspaper cities. In addition, *all* newspapers face the

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added problem of high and still-rising costs, which have brought about a fabulous mortality rate. I have here a few figures taken from a recent talk by Mark Ethridge, the outspoken, liberal editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal:*

> "When I entered newspaper work," he said, "there were 2,600 dailies and about 16,000 weeklies in the country. . . . Today, according to the latest available figures, there are 1,765 dailies and 9,591 weeklies in the United States. (That's 835 fewer!) Twenty dailies died last year, our second best year, but that is only part of the story. Since 1910, the trend toward fewer competitive newspapers has been progressing. . . . In 1910, 689 American cities had competing dailies; there are eighty-seven such cities now."

This is what is happening, and if trends show anything, it will continue to happen. Mr. Ethridge links this downward curve to the rising curve of attacks on our freedom and the timidity and conformism that they breed.

In April this year Robert M. Hutchins made one of the sharpest "friendly" attacks on the press that any public man has ventured. He made it, significantly, before the meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He too mentions the huge death rate among newspapers and its effect in creating a press monopoly—in general a one-party press monopoly. And he points out that the rising costs which have destroyed hundreds of newspapers have also, on the papers that survive, "put the publisher in the driver's seat where he has no business to be."

He suggested an independent continuing Commission on the Freedom of the Press which would report regularly to the American people. But my opinion is that a still more vital function can be performed only by those independent liberal papers, daily or weekly, which manage to hold out and to speak freely —without a look over their shoulders either at the advertising department or at any of the public or private agencies which busy themselves saving us from a Communist dictatorship. Such papers may be "endowed" —it is a lovely sounding word and I only wish it could be translated into an intimate fact. Or they may survive through the loyal support of readers who join in believing that they are essential to the life of this democracy.

However the economics problem is met—even perhaps by the miracle of self-support which a few have succeeded in achieving—the main thing is that an independent liberal press *must* survive. And believe me, its effect and its power of penetration are only partly related to its sales. Circulation is its greatest asset, certainly, but even without a mass circulation the facts, and a frank informed interpretation of them exercise an influence which is multiplied many times over by their use in colleges, schools, organizations—and other newspapers.

AND now to relate this homily on the press to the role of *The Nation* at the present moment of history. This journal of ours has no hard-and-fast plan for the atomic age. What we know *surely* is that through the new sources of energy and control now in men's hands, or soon to be there, the world can be brought by giant strides—compared with any era of progress in the past—to new levels of health, a decent standard of living—and freedom. We also know that the changes to come will work a profound revolution in every aspect of our society, in its power relationships, its social institutions, its basic economic structure. The revolution may seem gradual, especially at the start, but its total impact will be beyond present imagining. Out of it *could* come, in place of freedom, the tightest garrison state the world has seen. Out of it could come a global cartel of atomic-energy-controlling powers. Out of it could come a World Government.

Whatever the course of the coming atomic revolution, *The Nation's* whole endeavor will be to see to it that the facts of its progress are made public; that they are interpreted in terms of the peoples' interests; and I can assure our friends on this 90th aniversary of our birth that the sturdy spirit which inspired *The Nation's* fight for equal human rights after Appomattox—and for the democratic control of our country's resources, from Teapot Dome to Dixon-Yates—will continue to animate our editorial counsels and our columns as we move into the Atomic Age.

Anniversary Messages

(*Continued From Inside Cover*)

vigor in this age of geriatric renewal. May *The Nation* carry its torch no less high in the next ninety.

Archibald MacLeish

Distinguished Poet

Throughout my time *The Nation* has been a living and vivid and vigorous influence on American life which American life can ill spare. It is the characteristic condition of liberal journalism that its editorial opinions should arouse disagreement and even hostility. The disagreement and the hostility *The Nation* has aroused from time to time, as well as the assent it has evoked, have been life-giving forces. It would be difficult for me to say how much I think my generation of Americans owes to the devotion, the courage, and the truly creative intelligence of Freda Kirchwey. Those who know her love her: the rest have been deprived of a deeply enriching experience.

Roy Wilkins

Executive Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is pleased to send greetings to *The Nation* upon the occasion of the celebration of its ninetieth anniversary. *The Nation* has a long and distinguished—if not unique—career in American life. From the war-torn era of its birth to the horror age of the atom *The Nation* has been a fearless champion of freedom to think, speak, publish, and act upon those issues which have demonstrated the dimensions of the spirit of our country.

Negro Americans who have benefited from the uncompromising analysis of their problems by the articles in *The Nation* these many years join other Americans in gratitude for the forthright contributions this journal has made to America.

Walter P. Reuther

President of the C. I. O.

It is appropriate that the ninetieth anniversary of *The Nation,* the country's oldest liberal magazine, should be marked by a forum discussion on "Atoms for Peace." It is

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increasingly clear, as we move into the atomic age, that the harnessing of atomic energy for the benefit of mankind is certainly one of the most important long-range problems facing humanity. It becomes increasingly obvious that every sector of our society—certainly including the trade unions—has a real stake in insuring that peaceful benefits of atomic energy are made available equitably to all groups in the society, rather than used for the enrichment of the few.

In the democracies, we have an opportunity to insure economic security as well as human liberty. The Soviet Union can perhaps offer some form of economic security to their oppressed people, but their totalitarian form of government rules out the possibility of any significant degree of liberty and freedom for the great masses of people.

I hope that *The Nation* in the years ahead will prove of real service to the cause of liberalism in helping to offer guidance on the road to the goal of a better future.

Grenville Clark

Distinguished Attorney

Elmer Davis has truly said that "the first and the great commandment for these times is: Don't let them scare you." *The Nation* has never broken that commandment; and this complete independence is the prime reason for its value to us all. May it ever retain that quality, and so remain a priceless asset for another ninety years.

Van Wyck Brooks

Distinguished Literary Critic

Congratulations and every good wish for the future of *The Nation*, the great historic liberal weekly that is more than ever needed in our time of spiritual paralysis and suspended animation. Thousands of your devoted readers are sure that you will carry on the generous but sometimes forgotten heritage of our open-hearted country.

Frank Aydelotte

Trustee, Institute for Advanced Study

I am delighted to hear of the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of *The Nation*, and I send my warmest congratulations. I have always considered it a strong voice urging those measures in our public life which would be to the best interests of our democracy. I hope it may continue to prosper for a long time in the future.

Emily Greene Balch

Nobel Peace Laureate

Ninety years of distinguished service in the cause of liberty and all the decencies is no small matter, and the names of Mr. Godkin and Oswald Garrison Villard—to speak only of those no longer with us—shine out on the list of those who have nobly served our country—and not our country alone. Their legacy is, happily, in good hands.

May I add that it is to me, at my age, a happy sign of the vitality of the effort to realize peace that *The Nation* is able to take unto itself and make use of such a new and terrible element as the nuclear.

Alvin Johnson

President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research

If you, Freda Kirchwey, and everybody else who knows us didn't know that I am devoted to you and count you among the great women of our time, I'd come to your dinner to declare it. Since my coming would be difficult to arrange, and my presence would be an affirmation of the obvious, you will have to count me absent, except in the spirit. Through a long career you have never once failed our brave American republic, too often languishing because of the scarcity of true friends like you.

Mrs. Harrop A. Freeman

President, United States Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section, in its fortieth anniversary year, wishes to take this opportunity of sending cordial greetings to *The Nation* on the occasion of its ninetieth anniversary. We congratulate you on your distinguished and courageous journalism, and wish for you many more years of successful work. Since the peaceful uses of atomic energy is one of the subjects that interest the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which has always stood for universal disarmament coupled with world development, we are especially grateful that you are giving interested persons the opportunity of hearing the experts which you are bringing together for the dinner forum on "Atoms for Peace."

B. Sanin Cano of Colombia

Dean of Latin American Journalists

As a constant reader of *The Nation* for more than seventy years I join sincerely in the applause offered today all over the civilized world to the noble and valiant weekly that has always borne the banner of culture in the battle for the liberty of mind and all the rights of the human person.

F. D. Patterson

Director, the Phelps-Stokes Fund

It is a signal honor to extend felicitation to *The Nation* on the ninetieth anniversary of its constructive service to the American people. During these years the cause of democracy has been well served through its policy of free and untrammeled discussion of vital issues affecting the welfare of our nation and its vigorous insistence that the expanding output which has resulted from human effort and inventive genius benefit our total citizenry.

Charles C. Burlingham

Lawyer and Civic Leader

I wish I could attend the birthday party of *The Nation*. We are old friends. When I came to the bar *The Nation* was in its teens, sixteen years old, and three years later, when Grover Cleveland was elected President, I began reading *The Nation* and I have kept it up ever since. I did not know Mr. Godkin, but I knew his son well, and I knew his friends Carl Schurz and George William Curtis.

The *Nation* has had its up and downs but under you [Freda Kirchwey] as editor it has had no downs. You have maintained the highest traditions of the most independent political publication in the United States.

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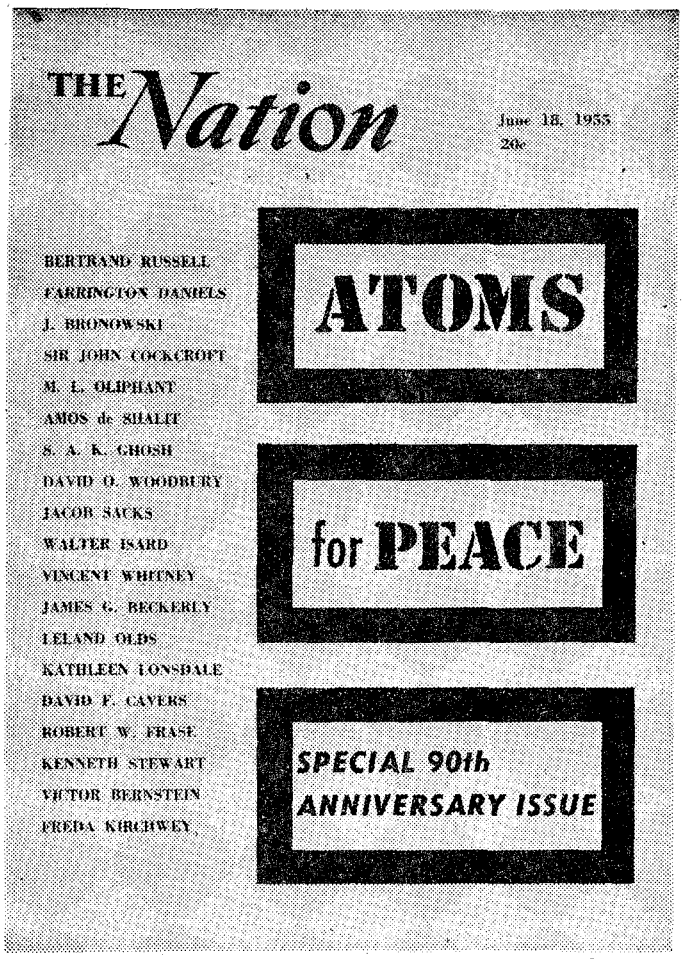

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nations agreed on the need for such a force, as well as on the idea that some restriction should be placed on the veto, but the general feeling seemed to be that specific positions on revision of the Charter should be withheld until the General Assembly takes up the matter of a review conference in regular debate. There was some fear, too, that a Charter review conference might become a propaganda contest, with the Charter itself the inevitable loser.

It is not being suggested that while the smaller nations were demonstrating an aggressive unity, the Big Four simply sat and listened. On Monday night, June 20, the four Foreign Ministers met in the solemn and brooding Pacific Union Club atop Nob Hill to set the stage for Geneva, and they emerged early Tuesday morning, if their own pronouncements are to be believed, in substantial agreement: the heads of state will set their own agenda, will attempt merely to create a favorable atmosphere and to set up negotiation procedures, will determine for themselves (but in advance) the length of the meeting, and will adopt a certain rotation of chairmen, beginning with Eisenhower and ending with Bulganin.

On the floor of the flag-bedecked Opera House, there was a sparring for position, but hardly a clash. Molotov proposed a seven-point peace plan, consisting of essentially the same proposals made in the Soviet disarmament plan of May 10, and offered the previously stated Soviet position that international distrust is rooted in the practice of "some nations" of establishing "foreign military bases." France's Pinay met the last pitch with a neat drag bunt, saying that his government knew of no "foreign military bases," only "that common means are made available to serve a common peaceful idea." Dulles noted that seven points were not needed, but only one: observance of the principles of the Charter. All this verbal jousting seemed to be regarded by most of the delegates with a tolerant amusement.

Speculation, of course, was rife during the week. Eisenhower's widely quoted sentence—"We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace"—

Secretary Dulles

was used again later by Dulles, and suggested to some observers that a new plan of some kind might be in the offing, perhaps for unveiling at Geneva or just before. A chance remark by Menon stirred expectations of a "Menon peace plan" to be proposed at his formal U.N. address, but if there was such a plan, it never materialized. Other speculators noted that Molotov, while espousing the cause of Mao Tse-tung as expected, did not explicitly say that Formosa should be given to the Communists.

But Molotov presented better material than that for speculation, if reporters cared to use it (as many did not). In answer to a question by James Reston of the New York *Times*, he said that "a united Germany should not represent the extension to the whole of the country of the regime now prevalent in Eastern Germany," nor that in Western Germany either. He called, instead, for "free all-German elections," though what conditions could properly be described as "free" he did not say.

Pinay too proferred a new suggestion in the midst of a defense of NATO. With obvious reference to the recent Warsaw pact, he said that arrangements such as NATO "open the way for agreements to be concluded on the interregional level." This was described, interestingly, as a German idea in Terence Prittie's report from Bonn in *The Nation* of June 25. To reporters who tried to tie this up with a previous Russian proposal for an all-European security system, Molotov said that the Pinay proposal was under study and seemed to imply that a basis for negotiation was present.

Even local domestic politics entered the picture as California's Governor Knight—who with J. Bracken Lee of Utah had refused to proclaim U. N. Day a few months ago—welcomed the delegates with the usual gesture of faith in the world organization, provoking locals to wonder whether his national ambitions are leading him away from the right wing.

There were indications that the most important aspect of the U. N.'s birthday party may have been the opportunity for relaxed hotel-room conversations in a fresh atmosphere. San Francisco, Reston wrote early in the week, "has the ability to make the young dream and the old forget," and amid the fortunate weather, between trips to the Opera House and frequent public appearances, the delegates could get together in the privacy of their rooms—checked for hidden microphones—and conduct those quiet talks that so often decide the fate of millions.

WHATEVER Dulles and Macmillan, Molotov and Pinay may have been doing with their spare time during the week, it is almost a cinch that they spent part of it talking about the emergence of the smaller powers, first at Bandung and then here. It would seem safe to predict that whether or not the Charter is revised, there will be changes in the procedures of the United Nations before long; and it is easy to observe that statesmen who set out to use the smaller nations as pawns in power politics are going to have surprises on their hands.

There is always a strong temptation to regard one's own predelictions as the truth; but it seems to this observer, at any rate, that at San Francisco the unanimous voice of the overwhelming majority of the world's people emerged as the articulate conscience of the great atom-armed powers. And it seems plain, too, that the smaller nations have no desire to stand by helplessly while the larger ones blow up the planet. Carlos Romulo summed up the talk about peace, freedom, and justice in a phrase: "It is what we are prepared to give up, rather than what we demand, that will enable the big ideas to become real."

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BOOKS

Mirror of America

THE SEARCHING LIGHT. By Martha Dodd. The Citadel Press. $3.50.

By Lion Feuchtwanger

"THE SEARCHING LIGHT," by Martha Dodd, is an impressive example of the partisan novel. The book has few of the disadvantages inherent in this category of novels and all the advantages which derive from writing with a political-sociological conviction. We used to call this kind of literature "activism," and probably half the great novels of history have such an impulse to thank for their creation. Today it is literary fashion to reject this type of novel haughtily or smile at it condescendingly. The reason for the rejection, however, is usually that the critic disagrees with the political-sociological partisanship of the book he is discussing.

Martha Dodd's hero, Professor James Minot, chairman of the English Department in a rather large university, gets involved in the agitation of the faculty over the loyalty oath. He is not exactly a militant man; he is a scholar more inclined to contemplation than to activity. But he is a thoroughly decent person, and he doesn't like to make compromises with the truth. The battle over the loyalty oath puts before this aging man the choice of whether, by betraying his principles, he shall preserve the security to continue his scientific work and to live with his wife and daughter under a sheltered roof or, by holding firmly to his truth, he shall lose everything he has built up so far and go out into a hostile insecurity.

The author brings to life the whole university in the uproar over the loyalty oath. All shades of the struggle are visible. The souls of the individuals are tried. The many gradations between self-seeking cowardice and self-sacrificing courage are clearly drawn; with painful clarity the author delineates the wavering of each individual before it is decided whether he shall stand or fall and how soon he shall fall.

More clearly than any theoretical exposition this novel describes the sore state between freedom and lack of freedom which the America of this decade is going through. How this struggle changes individual persons and whole classes inwardly and outwardly is not discussed; it is made visible.

It is true that Martha Dodd has not always escaped the danger which the partisan novel invites; she sometimes falls into theorizing, into editorials. But she has invented an excellent means—artistically thoroughly legitimate—of conveying the message of her novel even beyond the persons and fates she has created. Her hero writes a book about John Milton, and it is strong testimony for the book that the mighty periods of Milton which her hero quotes are not out of tone. Appropriately the book bears as a motto the words of Milton: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." Nor do the other great statements of Milton which occur in the book seem pasted in; rather they grow out of the situation and out of the people.

The novel is a true mirror-image of the United States of today. It has grown out of a realistic view, out of the will to artistic creation, and an honest commitment to freedom and truth. The author may point with pride to the fact that one of the last statements of Albert Einstein referred to her book. "It deserves," he wrote her, "the appreciation of every honest person that you have shed light on the whole morbid and fantastic process of which we are witnesses."

LION FEUCHTWAGNER is the author of "'Tis Folly to Be Wise," "This Is the Hour," "Proud Destiny," and other books. He will publish a new novel, "Raquel, the Jewess of Toledo," in the fall.

Assault Against Barriers

THE SEAGULL ON THE STEP. By Kay Boyle. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Adrienne Foulke

IN HER new book Miss Boyle again deals with the American-European interplay which has so long concerned her. This is challenging but treacherous terrain for the novelist, and Kay Boyle often but not always matches the demands of her subject.

At one level "The Seagull" is the story of what happens to Mary Farrant, an American girl who came to Paris after the war to study painting. There she has got herself engaged to a young xenophobe, a minor American official whose attitude toward the French deeply troubles her. "He says the French are a nation of parasites who ask and ask and never give . . .," and before marriage Mary decides to run this bogy to ground. She embarks on a search for life, for reality, for the truth behind human relationships, a search which is at once tangential, purposive, and almost fateful. It soon plunges her into the currents of existence in a small Mediterranean fishing village, into events of melodramatic violence, and finally into a love affair which promises richly to make up for the sterility of her young bureaucrat.

So much for external incident; but Mary exists on quite another level. She is a kind of pilgrim of the spirit perpetually in search of the definition which she can receive only through love. Not her self-conscious, hobbled Peter Cornish but vital Michel Vaillant will reveal it to her, Michel who incorporates the "spirit of the new France," and its youth to which this book is dedicated.

Much of the action in the book is swift and violent, accompanied by

ADRIENNE FOULKE, critic and translator, was formerly chief of publications for the United States Department of State.

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some extremely vivid portraiture and, for the slighter characters, deft sketching. Dialogue is handled with Kay Boyle's impeccable ear, whether it be for the documentary realism of gossip in the bus, the lyrical compression and directness of lovers' talk, or the evocative, almost stream-of-consciousness musings of Mary and Vaillant on the things that divide peoples and individuals.

The signal failure of the book is, in this reader's view, traceable to the heroine, who is not large enough to hold all the levels of meaning the author has attempted to pour into this fragile vessel. Mary has not enough weight, emotionally, intellectually, or in terms of personality, for events to be polarized around her, or for her to perform the alternative function of reflecting them with fulness. (It is impossible not to be reminded of James, who was bedeviled by the same problem.) Though Miss Boyle's other characters sometimes stumble under the weight of their double roles, their failure is less disturbing because they are less crucial structurally.

Miss Boyle's "good" characters must rise out of themselves, like the priest whose concept of his pastoral mission grows to embrace the unbelievers and anti-Christs to whom he offers refuge. Even young Cornish, so cripplingly standard in his blinkered vision, can achieve his moment of uniqueness in a brief almost mystical camaraderie with his antitype, Vaillant.

As for Vaillant, he is perhaps the least developed figure in the book, less of a person, even less of an organism—despite the attributes of strength, vigor, magnetism, and courage we are asked to accept as his on faith—than any other personage in the cast. It is Marrakech, the mute Algerian cripple fiddling for pennies, whom Miss Boyle invests with symbolic meaning. This gentle, vulnerable, stubbornly enduring creature, buffeted like the seagull by opposing winds, again like the seagull soars above them. Her most humble character, then, speaks for the human spirit. It is such perception on Miss Boyle's part, together with her deep concern to penetrate or otherwise defeat the barriers between nation and nation, between men and women, that requires us to give her appreciative attention.

Books in Brief

Criticism by Quotation

PREDILECTIONS. By Marianne Moore. Viking. $3.50.

It is always interesting to see a superannuated literary form brought to life again, especially when its new incarnation is entirely different from the old. The pastiche, once no more than a scholarly entertainment, has been put to serious use in modern poetry, and it now becomes obvious from this collection of Marianne Moore's essays and reviews that she has fashioned it into a peculiarly effective critical tool. Each of her essays tends to become a patchwork of quotations ingeniously chosen and arranged to represent the character of the work being discussed. The critic's own language forms a deceptively self-effacing background for the interweaving meanings of passages from Henry James, Wallace Stevens, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and other authors. The quotations are an effort to conquer the opacity of language, and to put the reader in the presence of the work itself as far as possible, for Miss Moore's criticism, like her poetry, is motivated by a passionate respect for its subject. Most of her quotations focus attention on honesty, exactness, or discrimination, the fine joinings which quietly manifest the morality of craftsmanship. For poets, she says, it is enough "to care and to admit that we do," for "the zest for perfection communicates itself to others."

Yeats in His Letters

THE LETTERS OF W. B. YEATS. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Allan Wade. Macmillan. $9.50.

This volume of more than nine hundred pages contains only a selection of the letters available to the editor, and there were many others not available either because they have been lost or because, like those to Shaw, they are in special collections for one reason or another not accessible. The earliest dates from Yeats's mid-twenties; the latest was written a few weeks before his death. Obviously indispensable as biographical documents, most of the letters are at once candid and reserved. Though many were written to intimates like Lady Gregory, Katherine Tynan, and Olivia Shakespeare, more might be described as communications from a professional man of letters. They deal with the business of the Abbey Theater, the publication of his poems, the production of his plays. Despite a few revealing references like those to astrology or the ghosts he has seen, there is comparatively little out of his innermost life. An interesting exception is the very first letter, which was written to an unidentifiable woman and includes the sketch of a poem together with some critical remarks. One hardly knows what to call most characteristic: the already forming vocabulary, the reference to "my peculiarities which will never be done justice to until they have become classic," or the comment that if George Eliot "had more religion she would have less morals."

Novel of the Occupation

THE DARK ARENA. By Mario Puzo. Random House. $3.50.

A young American named Mario Puzo has produced one of the finest works of fiction to come out of this country's occupation of Germany. In "The Dark Arena," his first novel, Mr. Puzo demonstrates versatility of language and maturity of approach; the ability to break past surface into the core of situation and emotional pressure.

There are neither heroes nor villains in "The Dark Arena." Cruelty and weakness, unlimited to any particular national group, become part of the ambivalence of human nature itself. Here are Americans buying food or women for a carton of cigarettes, embittered Germans, and Jew-cursing British Tommies. Violence permeates all aspects of life until existence itself becomes too fragile for meaning; morality is not so much challenged as anesthetized.

Despite some structural flaws—the alternation of point of view, for example, is often arbitrary—"The Dark Arena" is a haunting book, not one to be read for either sensationalism or casual amusement.

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Selected New Books

Southeast Asia

SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Brian Harrison. St. Martin's Press. $3.50. The author of this history of colonialism in Southeast Asia, a professor of history in the University of Hong Kong, faced a task of inherent difficulty. Various alien influences have operated in that part of the world during the centuries of imperialist expansionism, with unrelated developments occurring simultaneously in different parts of the region. Mr. Harrison's primary reliance on chronological progression over the length and breadth of the whole area failed to solve the mechanical problem. His book has much meat in it, but the light he would have shed on his subject was first distorted by being distributed equally over minor affairs and great, and then dissipated in the shuttle from one corner of Southeast Asia to the other to keep abreast of the calendar.

INDIA TODAY! By Jack Finegan. Bethany Press. $4.25. A theologian-archaeologist would sketch the contemporary face of India and the nation's current problems in what is in effect a collection of individual essays on such varied topics as population statistics and mountain peaks and the place of religion in the lives of the people. Mr. Finegan failed to exercise balanced discrimination in selection of materials for his project. There are useful facts here, but not an integrated picture of India today.

INDONESIA: LAND OF CHALLENGE. By Marguerite Harmon Bro. Harper. $4. Mrs. Bro, a former educational missionary in China, obviously found her previous Oriental experience useful in assessing turbulent, problem-ridden Indonesia. She offers a wealth of information regarding that little-known country, with keen appreciation alike of the characteristics of Asian nationalism and of the greatness of Asia's needs in terms of everything from trained administrative personnel to penicillin for the treatment of yaws.

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. By R. G. Casey. Michigan State. $3. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs has written a short book, but as the subtitle indicates, it covers "Australia, the U. S., and the World." Perhaps it was that scope that led Mr. Casey to deal so extensively with generalities and the obvious—as in the section describing the British and American peoples, or that explaining the essentials of the cold war. The second half of the book is the most informative part, treating of neighboring countries, of the Colombo Plan and SEATO and the little-known South Pacific Commission—and of Australia's claim to most of Antarctica.

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Stanford, under auspices of Institute of Pacific Relations International Secretariat. $4. Mr. and Mrs. Adloff, who have written much and wisely on Southeast Asia, now present a definitive work on the alien and ethnic minorities of that region. Under existing conditions those minorities are restless. The Chinese minority, with a political future described as "ominously unpredictable," and Moslem and Thai groups have a high trouble-making potential. Others, like the Buddhists and the Indian minority, promise to play a less active role—but they have their place in the political scene. This book will be most highly appreciated by Far Eastern specialists and the enlightened statesman; but it is of first-rate value for all who would obtain a better appreciation of the complex imbalance of minority interests in Southeast Asia.

O. EDMUND CLUBB.

Films

Robert Hatch

RUTH ETTING'S "protector," manager, and for a time husband was a minor Chicago gangster named Snyder and known as the Gimp. He was a cripple and he was not entirely sane, but it could be that he really loved the singer and was to a considerable extent responsible for her enormous success.

James Cagney, playing this role under the direction of Charles Vidor and from a script by Daniel Fuchs, gives a dramatic excitement and maturity to "Love Me or Leave Me" that are uncommon in Hollywood's biographies of famous entertainers. Cagney has a tricky course to run: he must make the repellent and dangerous Gimp sympathetic without leaning too far over into sentimentality, and he must make him convincing without unduly shadowing what is primarily an entertainment picture. There are some awkward moments when he is obviously motivated by the script alone and has to do the best he can with a patched-up happy ending, but over the whole picture Cagney shows you what sort of man Snyder may well have been. He throws a few punches to emphasize the characterization, but mostly he works through an eloquence of gesture and expression which is as subtle acting as he has ever done and surely as subtle acting as a "major production" can risk.

Doris Day, whose primary job is to sing the old Etting ballads, gives a creditable impersonation of the ambitious heroine. The proprieties of family entertainment require her to elude Snyder's advances with greater virtue and better luck than is perhaps common among taxi-dance hostesses who rise to fame through the efforts of the underworld. But she makes clear and moving the conflicting emotions that Miss Etting must have felt toward her patron unless she was tough beyond reason. It is, as Miss Day shows, no joke to be the only redeeming spark in an otherwise revolting personality.

I cannot recall how Ruth Etting sounded, but Miss Day's style is right for the period and she makes the old songs seem as wonderful as I remember them to have been. Cameron Mitchell, as Miss Etting's one true love, plays an inescapably priggish role with as much good humor as possible. "Love Me or Leave Me" probably tidies up the peculiar Etting-Snyder romance; even so, it is a refreshing variation on the little-girl-makes-good fairy tale.

"SUMMERTIME," the screen rewrite of Arthur Laurent's "The Time of the Cuckoo," is a beautiful and foolish film. It was photographed in excellent color (Eastman) in Venice, and David Lean, its director, has a discriminating eye for architecture. His camera moves gracefully along the canals, through alleys and across the great piazzas, taking slow, satisfying looks at the

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magic facades and the endless play of decoration.

But Mr. Lean and his co-writer, H. E. Bates, are uninterested in the springs and consequences of human behavior. They want the advantage of Mr. Laurent's stage success but are determined that the pathetic implications of his story shall not darken their happy Venetian holiday. Consequently, their characters don't behave like people, but that is a small price to pay for a good box office.

An American secretary buys the all-inclusive excursion to Italy, and one item in the package is an affair with a handsome but hang-dog Venetian antique dealer. The gentleman is married; so after four or five nights, symbolized on the first occasion by a spectacular fireworks display over the lagoon, the young lady boards the boat train with her camera full of pictures, her head full of sweet memories, and her secretarial competence unimpaired. I do not believe that business girls of uneasy age from Akron, Ohio, can kick up their heels with such impunity.

Katharine Hepburn played the part as though she suspected it. She kept *saying* she was a lonely old maid who had never been anywhere or done anything, and she fell into the canal to demonstrate her naivete, but she dressed and moved like a girl born to monogrammed luggage, the subservience of hotel staffs, and the advances of strangers. As her lover, Rossano Brazzi behaved like a well-trained professional escort and seemed ashamed of himself.

There is a good deal of talk nowadays about immorality in the movies. "Summertime" is an immoral picture because it suggests that a love affair is of no more consequence than an exotic salad dressing. However, no beds are shown, so the Production Code seismograph does not register.

J. MEADE FALKNER'S "Moonfleet" is as good an adventure story as a boy can find after he has read his way through the Stevenson shelf. It offers a satisfying variety of hidden passages, secret codes, graveyard rendezvous, smugglers, gun battles, fabulous treasure, and a young hero of admirable sang-froid.

About all that is left of the book in the movie M-G-M has made of it is the small hero, who, in the person of the flaxen-haired Master Jon Whiteley, walks through one hideous peril after another as though he were browsing home from school. The story has been all chopped to bits, and Fritz Lang has directed it as an excuse for the swashbuckling Stewart Granger, gentleman smuggler, to drink port, kiss foreign-looking ladies, and exchange desperate cynicisms with George Sanders. Every time the action gets under way, Granger kills it with his profile.

The distributors have sneaked "Moonfleet" in as a "B" picture; I mention it only because you may recognize the title and be tempted.

Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

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Record Notes

By Robert E. Garis

Bach: Cantatas No. 78 ("Jesus der du meine Seele") and No. 106 ("Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit"); Stitch-Randall, Hermann, Dermota, Brown, Heiler, with Bach Guild Orchestra and Chorus under Prohaska (Bach Guild); good performances.

Bartok: Minor piano pieces including Suite Op. 14; Sandor (Columbia); good performances; cold piano sound.

Beethoven: Sonatas for piano, Op. 2, No. 3, and Op. 49, Nos 1 & 2; Gulda (London); fine performances.

Sonatas for violin and piano, Op. 30, No. 2, and Op. 96; Gulda and Ricci (London); beautiful performances.

Brahms: Piano Recital, three volumes: Op. 10, 76, 79, 116, 117, 119; Kempff (London); those who like the music may approve of these conventionally "solid" performances.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 100; Stern and Zakin (Columbia); fine performance. (With the dull "F. A. E." Sonata for violin and piano by Dietrich, Schumann and Brahms.)

Debussy: Sonata for violin and piano; Ferras and Barbizet (London); mannered performance. (With Faure's watery Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 108.)

Faure: Chanson d'Eve; Kolassi with Collard (London); this performance makes little of these beautifully quiet songs. (With Milhaud's uninteresting Poemes Juifs.)

Martin: Concerto for harpsichord and small orchestra; Nef with Ensemble Orchestral de L'Oiseau-Lyre under de Froment (Oiseau-Lyre); an attractively mild piece, beautifully performed; recording muffled.

Mendelssohn: Symphonies No. 3 and 5 ("Scotch" and "Reformation"); Mitropoulos and N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); heavily "effective" performances, without clarity and grace; confused orchestral sound.

Mozart: Symphony No. 40 in G Minor; Prohaska with Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); fair performance; shrill recording.

Schubert: "Arpeggione" Sonata; Albin and Helffer (Telefunken); beautiful performance and recording. (With Mendelssohn's dull Sonata for cello and piano, No. 2.)

Smetana: String Quartet in E Minor ("Aus meinen Leben"); Vegh Quartet (London); fair performance; dry recording. (With Kodaly's mildly interesting Quartet No. 2, Op. 10.)

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6 ("Pathetique"); Kleiber with Paris Conservatory Concert Orchestra (London); beautiful details, not much passion or fire.

Wagner: A Wagner Program: Selections from "Tannhauser," "Lohengrin," "Die Walkure," and "Die Meistersinger"; Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); the usual solid opulence.

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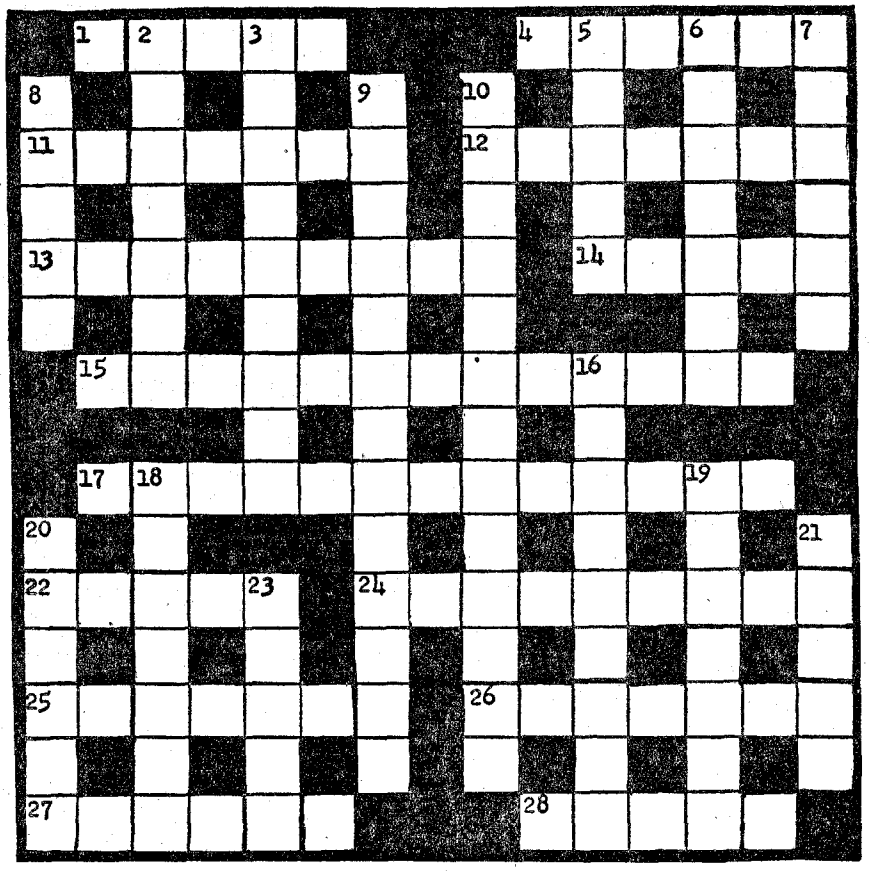

ACROSS

1 and 7 down You have to keep an eye on stores with multiple outlets! (5,6)

4 Proving a kind of circle is more than a portion of a circle. (6)

11 Secret society with an eccentric or divine make-up. (7)

12 Nice at one end of it! (7)

13 Sat in Alsatia? (5,4)

14 Mature. (5)

15 Implying it's possible to put something on the right-hand side? (13)

17 You wouldn't be safe to be found out in them. (8, 5)

22 He grew rich in India. (5)

24 Rhubarb might grow out of it in 17. (5,4)

25 Where the Aristocrats were kept in suspense. (7)

26 It might be the knife for the loin chop. (7)

27 and 6 down Cross-reference? (1, 5,3,4)

28 21 when its sense is leaving. (5)

DOWN

2 Looks as though it ought to measure time rather than strength! (7)

3 It might make the dust rise in a state of grace. (9)

5 He doesn't sound like a very dependable watch dog for the house! (5)

6 See 27 across.

7 See 1 across.

8 Slightly more than acid, yet less than rancid. (5)

9 This should keep you on your toes! (6,7)

10 The court procedure expands in test cases, evidently. (5,8)

16 Let out the inside of the vessel, perhaps. (9)

18 The interdiction seems to be 13 here. (7)

19 The first lady is about to bring up an endorsement tending to get out of hand. (7)

20 The mouth of a stream in a substance to promote cohesion. (6)

21 You can use it on arrival, but it doubles for 28 as well. (5)

23 4 across is likely to be like the house of an English author. (5)

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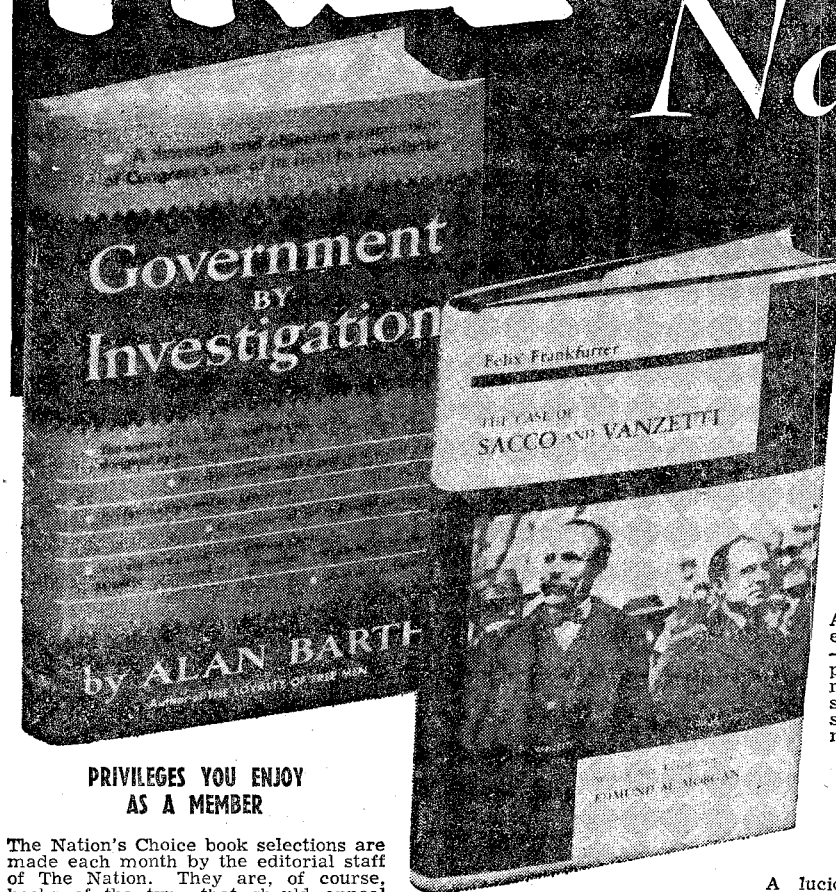

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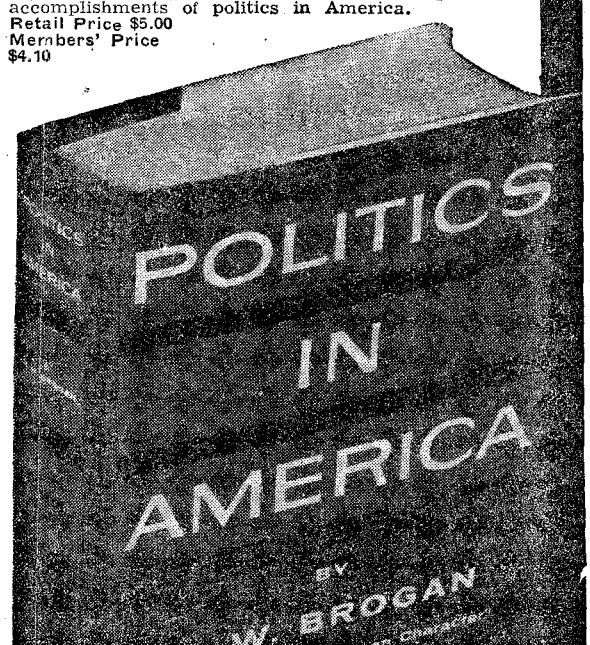

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